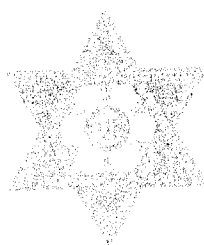


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Social Structure, Fertility and the Value of Children in Northwestern Nepal

Nancy E. Levine*

Accounts of fertility variations across cultures increasingly have come to be formulated in terms of the relative value of children to their parents. This value has been examined in diverse spheres of life and in different social environments, principally by economists and psychologists who are concerned to identify and measure specific benefits and costs entailed. The apparent attractiveness of the approach lies in its ability to bring together vast quantities of information within a single framework of explanation to account for fertility variations at both the aggregate and individual level and to provide standardized methodologies for investigations of the subject. In theory, the approach should offer considerable insight into cross-cultural variation. However, as yet little of that potential has been realized. I believe that one of the factors hindering the development of a more flexible, cross-culturally appropriate methodology has been narrow conceptions of "the family." This paper will consider this problem with reference to one group in northwestern Nepal.

The concerns of the principal contributors to the value of children literature -- economists and social psychologists -- have been surprisingly complementary. Social psychologists have responded to the earlier economic literature and have focussed the attention of their discipline on parents' perceptions of economic and psychological child costs and benefits and the relation of perceptions to behaviour. In turn, while economists themselves have not investigated the effects of preferences for children, satisfactions realized and ideals of family size, they have recognized the relevance of these factors (Easterlin 1978:67). More recently anthropologists have turned to the study of these issues and have begun to test measures of child value against reproductive behaviour. Notably they too have stressed economic influences on fertility decision-making.

Some anthropologists have been optimistic about the explanatory power of economists' analyses, perhaps more than is warranted (e.g., compare Nag et al. 1978 with Butz and Greenberg 1975:1 fn.). But their contributions have added valuable empirical data on rural peasantries in less developed regions. In so doing, they have refined the methods for measuring economic variables in such societies (Nag et al. 1978; White 1975). Additional studies can be expected to add to the literature and

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further develop this approach. But there is one potential pitfall: anthropologists who enter a field dominated by other disciplines risk being entrapped in the groundwork laid by those disciplines, thus overlooking issues relevant to them and the special contributions to be made by their own field. This is particularly unwarranted in studies which have a bearing upon domestic institutions, a topic anthropologists should be well equipped to consider. Carter and Merrill (n.d.) have shown how misconceptions about households in other disciplines have affected the general literature on economic development and population processes. It is my intent here to show how this is a problem in assumptions about the "value of children."

The case of the Nyinba, a Tibetan speaking people of northwestern Nepal, is especially relevant to an understanding of this issue. At the most basic level, their formulation of costs and benefits associated with children bears little resemblance to descriptions in the literature. First, economic considerations are minimized: there is little talk of the financial costs or rewards, in present or in future, involved in having children (compare also Arnold et al., 1975:105, 149). Second, where questions of value come into play, they are phrased in terms not of parents, but of the household as a constellation of individuals, kin and non-kin, and the needs of that household. Having children is a way of providing new household members who will contribute to the political strength of the household, who will expand kinship networks, as well as provide economic contributions when they are grown. Conversely the psychological needs or economic concerns of individual sets of parents are given far less attention.

The importance of the household, relations between its economy and management needs and the numbers of children raised has been recognized in the recent literature. Two notable examples are T.C. Smith for Japan (1977) and for India in Carter and Merrill's general review of the literature (n.d.). The effects of household structure on aggregate fertility has been described for Limi in northwestern Nepal (Goldstein, 1976, 1981). Here I will discuss the effects of household constraints on individual fertility; the role of the household in shaping Nyinba population patterns has been presented elsewhere (Levine 1977). I will begin with a description of the Nyinba social system, then turn to a discussion of their demography. Next, I will consider how household requisites affect attitudes toward male and female children and, finally, the evidence for conscious controls over childbearing.

The Nyinba: Economy and Social Structure

The Nyinba inhabit a set of adjoining southern valleys in Humla district. In 1973-75, when I conducted my field research, the population included approximately 1,200 individuals distributed across four major villages. The southern exposure of the land and adequate, if not ample, water supplies provide the basis for profitable agriculture. But acreage is limited, and agriculture alone is insufficient to support the Nyinba. People have to supplement their own crops with grains obtained in the

salt trade (see Fùrer-Haimendorf 1975) and with the returns from small-scale cattle herding, which adds protein to the diet.

The large size of Nyinba households and the polyandrous marital system encourages male specialization in one or another productive activities. Some men work primarily in agriculture, others are away much of the year herding and trading. The majority of the agricultural work, however, falls upon household women, so that a major portion of the household's economic success is dependent upon the number of its competent, adult women.

The Nyinba population is subdivided internally into two endogamous social strata: numerically predominantly traditional landowners and descendants of former slaves, freed in 1926. Some of the latter have become well to do, but most still are very poor. Together with the socio-economic differences there are cultural differences between the two social strata which may have an effect on their fertility. For this reason, the two groups must be considered separately; in this paper only the demography of the dominant majority will be discussed.

Nyinba family formation and the household system are important for understanding their demography and their social structure as a whole. The household (trongba) acts as a corporate unit in political and economic affairs. Membership in a given household is the key to the individual's status in the community. Because the individual rises and falls with the group, we find household welfare to be the focus of much attention and concern. The identity or status it provides is seen as both justifying and necessitating member loyalty. Also, the remembrance of household genealogies, gives individuals a certain kind of social immortality.

Norms of patrilocal residence mold the household experiences of men and women in different ways. While men typically live their entire lives in their natal households, women change residence at least upon their first marriage and if they divorce additional times as well. There are exceptions: the rare cases when a household lacks male heirs and a daughter marries uxorilocally. Although her husband is adopted formally as the heir, she still holds certain special prerogatives in her natal home. But even a patrilocally married woman has security in her marital home, as protected by law. She cannot be forced out, or divorced against her will, although there certainly are stratagems to encourage a woman to leave. If divorce occurs, it is almost never after the birth of a child, for children not only bind husbands and wives together, they also unalterably fix the woman's position in her marital home. Thus there are practical as well as personal reasons for women to look forward to children, especially sons who will remain in the household for life.

Nyinba households form what have been termed, rather loosely, extended families. They are unusual, however, in their internal stem-type structure, based on the Tibetan "monomarital principle" (Goldstein 1971: 68). This is the rule that only a single marriage per household can

occur each generation. For the Nyinba, like other cultural Tibetans, this has involved fraternal polyandry. There long have been arguments for the economic advantages of polyandry, most notably that it is a means of avoiding land fragmentation in areas of scarce resources. A more recently cited advantage is that in restricting the numbers of women who will wed, it can reduce aggregate fertility (Goldstein 1981). The Nyinba too note the practical advantages of their marital system and attribute the non-proliferation of village households to it.

As with other polyandrous peoples, all "types" of marriage are found among the Nyinba and can be attributed to diverse developmental and demographic circumstances. For example, a lone brother weds monogamously, by default. Two or more brothers always marry polyandrously. Then if a woman fails to bear children, her husband(s) are encouraged to take a second wife, in polygyny or what I have called simple polygynous polyandry. It is also possible to add wives to already fertile unions. This is likelier when the sibling group is very large, or riven by dissension. The arrangement has vastly different consequences for marital relationships than the obligatory polygyny occasioned by infertility. It tends to produce exclusivity in sexual arrangements between the married partners, or situations of "mini-marriages" within the larger one. For this reason I have described the latter as conjoint marriage, to distinguish it from the simple polygynous polyandrous type of union (see Levine 1977). Table 1 illustrates the initial marital configurations for seventy-nine Nyinba marriages surveyed in 1973-75.

Table 1. Initial Marital Configurations for Nyinba Women.

Type of Marriage	Number of Women	Percent
Polyandry	41	51.9
Monogamy	22	27.8
Conjoint Marriage	12	15.1
Polygyny or Simple Polygynous Polyandry	4	5.2
Total	79	100.0

Men in polyandrous marriages say they want to have "their own children", that is, children for whom they are recognized as the genitor, and sons of their own in particular (see Levine 1980). Of course this is not always possible, and the larger a fraternal group, the less likely that each man can be the real father of one of a limited number of sons. It is thought that a man should accept his bad luck and subordinate his feelings for the household's good. Not all men do so, and the lack of sons is offered as an excuse for taking an additional wife in conjoint marriage. Although a recognized motivation, it is regarded as selfish and destructive, thus condemned by other community members. Instances

of conjoint marriage which do culminate in partition are held up as examples of the damage done by such failures in fraternal solidarity.

The Nyinba Demographic Regime

Generalizations about Nyinba demography have been drawn from statistical analyses of the fertility histories of eighty-nine women of the landholding stratum. These women comprise 34% of all living women aged eighteen and older. The sample was selected from women who provided detailed responses to questions about their marital and reproductive history and was stratified to reflect the distribution of women at different age groups in the population.

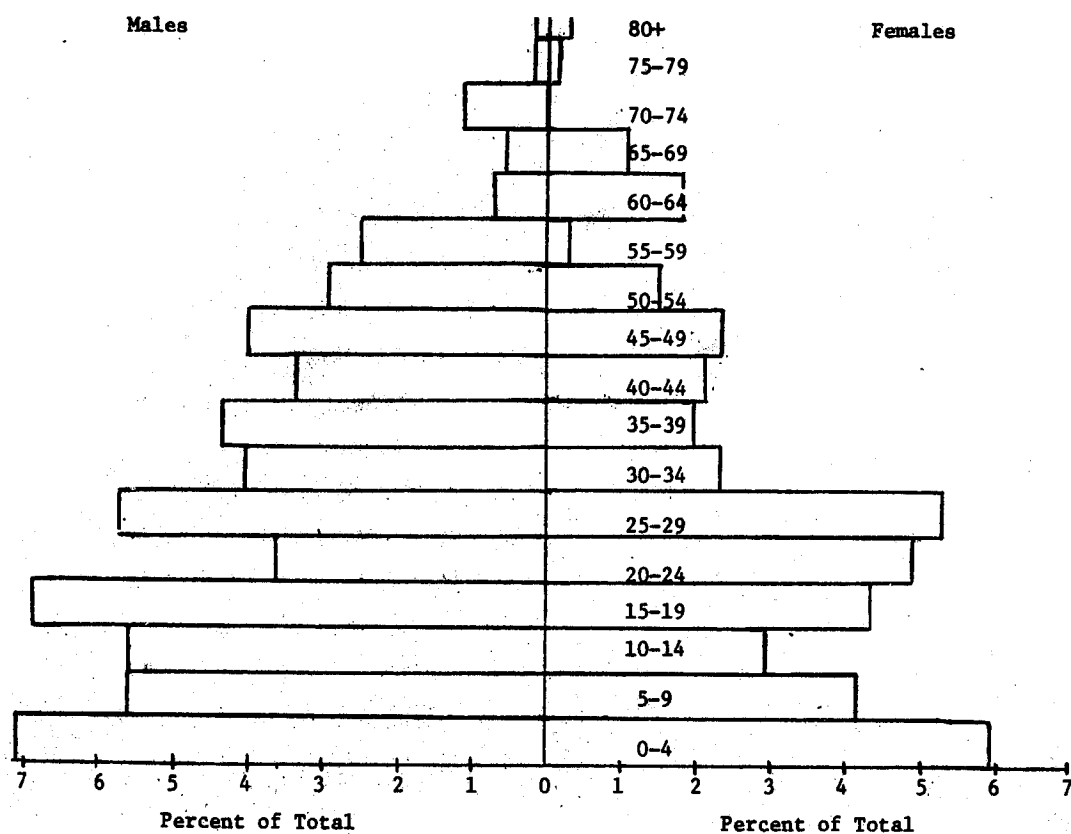
Features of Nyinba demography are quite similar to what is reported for other Tibetan groups in Nepal. As Goldstein (1980) has shown, there is remarkable equivalence in the fertility and number of surviving children among Humla Tibetans, who themselves seem to be comparable to the Tibetan speaking Sherpa (although there are conflicting data on the latter). Nor are the Nyinba notably different from the population of Nepal as a whole regarding completed marital fertility, patterns of age-specific fertility and so on (see the World Fertility Survey 1977).

To begin with, a Nyinba woman weds, on the average, at age 17.9. While this is higher than the average age at marriage for Nepalese Hindus by 2.9 years (World Fertility Survey 1977:36-37), it is lower than that of the Sherpa by 6.7 years (Weitz et al. 1978:192). 20.9 is the age at first pregnancy, again lower, by 2.7 years--than the Sherpa. The apparent discrepancy in Sherpa age at marriage and first birth is due to the prolonged Sherpa engagement and the occurrence of premarital pregnancy, which is not tolerated by the Nyinba. These relatively late dates at first pregnancy have been attributed to late age at menarche, which in turn has been attributed to biological effects of residence at high altitude (see Weitz et al. 1978:191).

One distinctive feature of Nyinba demography is the high sex ratio, apparent in the age-sex pyramid presented in Figure 1 below. As the diagram shows, children under the age of 15 make up 31% of the population. Males predominate among these children and, even more strikingly among adults. The reasons for this will become apparent in discussions to follow on fertility and child mortality in relation to son preference.

Nyinba married women report having borne from 6.2 to 6.6 children on the average during their reproductive years.² These two figures reflect the different estimates of women aged 45 plus and the more inclusive group of women aged 40 plus. That the number given by the latter is larger may be due to fluctuations in small samples, or to changing patterns in fertility. (Table 3, which follows, suggests that it is not due to any tendency to forget dead offspring, but rather to some peculiarity in the 40-44 age group). Table 2 summarizes reports of women's reproductive histories, including completed fertility, number of living

Fig. 1. Age-Sex Pyramid for Nyinba Landholders



children and number of children who have died by the time of the survey. Table 3 presents more detailed information on child mortality, and shows just how high it is. By the time a woman's reproductive career is at an end, she has lost nearly half her children.

Table 2. Completed Marital Fertility for Nyinba Women.

	Mean Number of Boys	Mean Number of Girls	Total Children	Number of Women ^a
Total Children Born	3.3 (3.6) ^b	2.9 (3.0)	6.2 (6.6)	23 (29)
Children Currently Surviving	1.9 (2.1)	1.9 (1.9) ^c	3.8 (4.0)	30 (41)
Reported Mortality	1.8 (1.8)	1.1 (1.1)	2.9 (2.9)	22 (28)

^aNote that the columns do not always add up, due to the different number of respondents to each set of questions.

^bThe first number given is for women aged forty-five and older, the second, in parentheses, is for women aged forty and above.

^cThis parity in male and female children for women forty-five and up may be the product of random fluctuations, as all other measures point to an excess of males over females, children and adults.

Table 3. Mortality of Own Children Over Time.

Age of Mother	Reported Mortality of Children		Number of Women ^a
	Numbers	Percent	
20-24	.45	22.7	11
25-29	1.09	27.4	11
30-34	1.50	27.4	8
35-39	1.66	35.9	6
40-44	3.16	37.8	6
45+	2.86	43.6	22
Mean Child Mortality	1.89	33.9	
Total Women			64

^aThis excludes women in the sample who have never had children. (There are seven such women, all younger than thirty-five).

The data on Nyinba fertility in Table 2 are, as noted above, quite similar to that of other Tibetan speaking ethnic groups in Humla. The completed fertility recorded for Dzinga and Limi, two communities north of the Nyinba is 6.7 and 6.3 respectively for all women, 7.4 for married women in both groups. The number of surviving children is 3.7 and 3.6. The Sherpas of Khumbu and Helambu seem to exhibit a similar pattern of fertility and survivorship, giving birth to 6.2 and 7.2 children respectively, with 3.3 and 3.5 surviving (cf. Goldstein, 1981).

The difference between the Nyinba and other Tibetan speakers in Humla is the slightly lower number of children ever born to Nyinba married women. This low number may be due in part to an under reportage of female births. As can be seen in Table 2, mothers on the average report having given birth to 3.3 (3.6) boys and 2.9 (3.0) girls. If the Nyinba had a normal sex ratio of 105 at birth, there would be approximately 3.2 (3.4) girls or a total of 6.5 (7.0) children born to these women, numbers closer to other Humla Tibetans' experiences. As I shall show, the Nyinba sex ratio cannot be attributed solely to chance or to some biological cause. It seems to be part of a larger pattern, one which also results in higher female mortality throughout childhood and relates to the cultural preference for males in the household.

Data on child mortality can be obtained from women's retrospective fertility histories alone, as there are no vital statistics on Humla populations. These histories show a reported sex ratio at birth at 117. But for children surviving to age four, the sex ratio rises to 124. And in the general population, among individuals age fifteen and over, the sex ratio is 138. While there is somewhat greater emigration of adult women than men, numbers of migrants are too small to account for this startlingly high figure. The only explanation that accounts for the steady rise in the sex ratio over time is a greater mortality of females, particularly in the early years. As I will show, this is consistent with Nyinba attitudes towards children in the context of household requirements, and is not necessarily due to any set of personal preferences or negative attitudes towards females. For the Nyinba do seem to love their children, male and female alike, although they note that sons will bring more substantial satisfactions to them in their lifetimes.

Sons are given greater valuation primarily in their role as household members. As kin, males and females are of equal importance, both creating alliances with other kin groups and households. But the rules of household organization place an emphasis on males as heads and successors. The household needs sons to carry on its name and to continue to work for its prosperity, a daughter's husband is seen as a poor substitute, a last recourse. And the household needs more than one son. If at least two survive to adulthood, they can divide up the male tasks of trading, herding and agriculture, tasks which together provide the foundation of household prosperity and simply cannot be accomplished by one man alone. Women accordingly tend to prefer polyandry, and ideally two husbands, for this reason. Three husbands also are acceptable, four less so, because of the threat of partition; one is less preferred, because

of the threat of widowhood. The same logic concerning household welfare is expressed regarding numbers of sons: two or three are desirable, because they can attract a good wife and can maintain an estimable living standard.

The preference for sons seems to be most intense in the early years of marriage. At least this is what the distribution of males and females in early and late births suggests, as Table 4 shows.

Table 4. Proportion of Males at Different Birth Orders Among Children Aged Four and Older.

Birth Order	Percent Male Children	Sex Ratio	Numbers of Children
1	59.2 ²	145	76
2	52.7	112	55
3	50.0	100	42
4	51.4	106	35
5-10	51.2	105	41

^aThe differences in male and female children in this and the following birth orders is not statistically significant.

When the birth orders of surviving adults (aged fifteen and over) is examined, the overrepresentation of males in the first three birth orders is even more pronounced. This, together with the gradual increase in the sex ratio, suggests not a systematic culling of females so much as the unsystematic poorer treatment of girls which eventually takes its toll on the female population. A similar situation seems to exist in North India, wherein boys are given better food, clothing and medical care and, accordingly, have a better chance of survival in childhood (Wyon and Gordon 1971:195).³

For the Nyinba, the demand for sons thus seems to be most acute in the early portion of a woman's reproductive career. Later on, should additional children be born, there apparently is less concern that they be males, or alternatively, then the desire for girls can be fulfilled, and better care apparently is taken of them to ensure their survival. The need for boys is urgent and immediate, the need for girls somewhat less immediate. At first glance this seems curious, for girls provide considerable help around the house and in the fields. But shortly after they reach adulthood and their full capabilities, economic and otherwise, they are married off to another house. This practical loss is compensated only by the alliances and ramifying kinship links that women create through these marriages.

Nyinba Fertility and Fertility Control

In all conventional measures, the Nyinba resemble populations characterized by natural fertility, or reproductive behaviour in the absence of deliberate birth control and targeted family size (Henry 1961). Parity progression ratios (not presented here), albeit irregular due to the small sample, are convex in shape. In contrast populations which practice contraception show a concave shape, the curve dropping as women cease having children around some ideal number. There is no evidence that Nyinba women who have a certain number of children, or a number of either sex, cease childbearing, nor does the survival of children have any measurable effects on subsequent fertility (see Preston 1978). Such patterns may exist, obscured by fluctuations in the sample or by the sort of sub-patterns of variation I will be discussing later. The point is that the existence of voluntary controls over numbers of births is impossible to demonstrate by any of the customary measures with the data at hand.

Despite an apparent lack of control over numbers of children, there are social practices which lower fertility beyond its potential maximum. These include the relatively late age of marriage (late for South Asia, at least) and a prohibition on pregnancy outside marriage, as noted above. In addition to this, early marital problems lead to divorce for 26% of women, and imbalances created by polyandry can create a delay of a year or more before these women marry again.⁴ The result is that many women spend a portion of their fertile years outside of marriage and thus are prevented from having children during that time. Attempts to construct age-specific fertility rates suggest that the peak in fertility is reached at ages 25-29, closely followed by ages 30-34.

These practices are followed irrespective of their consequences for childbearing. However certain features of Nyinba reproductive behaviour seem to be tantamount to a kind of "family planning." This does not seem to involve planning for certain numbers of offspring, so much as suppressing maximum fertility in some contexts, or lessening survival probabilities in others. Most notable is the differential treatment of children of different sex a practice which changes directions during a woman's reproductive career. More subtle an indication of voluntary controls over fertility can be found in the measurable effects of different types of marital union. I have discussed the first subject in the context of analyses of child mortality. Now I will turn to the second topic, the apparent effects of conjoint marriage on fertility.

The anthropological literature contains numerous discussions of possible links between forms of polygamy and fertility. All available evidence has indicated that polyandry has no effect on women's fertility, and this is as true for Humla Tibetans as for those few other groups in which the marital form is found (Goldstein 1976). This conclusion is offered further support by the Nyinba data. Women over forty who have spent their entire lives in polyandrous unions have 4.50 living children, while those who have always been monogamous have 4.56 children.⁵ The possible effects of polygyny on fertility have received far more attention

in the literature than has polyandry, no doubt because polygyny is more commonly found. Also there is a certain logic to the notion that polygyny might reduce fertility at the individual level. Nag (1975) has reviewed the literature and has found severe methodological problems in previous studies, contributing to a lack of unambiguous evidence for the postulated negative relationship. The large number of factors involved must be controlled for before a direct relationship be demonstrated (see also Isaac 1980).

For the Nyinba, polygyny tends to occur only in special circumstances --when the first wife has failed to bear children, when the children have all died, or sometimes, but not necessarily, when there are only daughters. It is inconceivable that a single man would engage in non-obligatory polygyny (although uxorilocally resident sisters have been known to share a husband). But there are cases, as noted above, when men in fertile polyandrous unions take an optional, additional wife, thus forming a polygynous polyandrous conjoint union. And this form of marriage is associated with a marked reduction in the individual wives' completed family size. To explain this apparent phenomenon, I must review the relevant constraints operative in the Nyinba household system.

Household Needs and Fertility: Polygynous Unions

Thus far I have stated that it is of utmost importance to have sons as household successors and heirs. I have not, however, discussed women's special motivations for so doing. First of all it is the woman who is held responsible for the failure to have sons. What these women fear about childlessness is not community disapprobation, ostracism or ritual exclusion such as barren Nepali Hindus suffer (see Stone 1978:8). Rather they fear disappointing their marital household, having to cope with the second wife their husbands will surely bring and having to take second place themselves when their co-wives' sons are grown. The entire membership of households wait expectantly till the new daughter-in-law has proved her fertility and are particularly pleased if a son is born. If not, the wait will continue until the next child. Households, especially prosperous ones, who are having trouble producing heirs hold a small party to receive congratulations from neighbours and friends after a son is finally born. Then the problem is keeping the child healthy--quite a task in an area of such high infant mortality.

Although ordinarily the weight of a woman's concern is on having sons and keeping them well through maturity, this is only part of her interest in achieving a workable household composition, one more likely to provide the foundation for household harmony and continuity. We have focussed on the problem of an insufficiency of sons, for that is the commoner predicament. Among women forty-five and over, a full twenty percent lacked surviving sons, another thirty percent had just one son, while only seventeen percent had four sons or more. But the excess of sons can be equally problematic, although the consequences are not felt immediately. Too many men to share tasks and to cooperate easily prompts dissension within the household. This can lead to a conjoint union in

the next generation. Here the problem is amplified if there are two wives. They both can produce sons whose upbringing lays the ground for even greater dissension.⁶ The fear here is of eventual household partition, the loss of household identity, subdivision of resources, diminished wealth and lessened prestige within the community. And women are as concerned about this possibility as men, for they have an equal stake in the household's future. To put it simply, the household's resources must be carefully conserved through management of personnel. Marriage is an easy means of controlling numbers and sex of personnel, but reproduction is under far less control. Several Nyinba women spoke to me of being unable to have sufficient children--roughly two or even three sons and two daughters--or of having more than they bargained for.⁷ Family size ideals thus are recognized, even if they are seen to be subject to only incomplete control.

Again one must reiterate that when the Nyinba discuss in general terms such matters as family size ideals, the problems of childlessness, the dangers of too many sons and the risks of conjoint marriage, the discussion is framed in terms of household needs. Furthermore they consider not only the needs of the group in the present, but future needs as well; for the household is conceptualized abstractly as linking the past and present to the future. Personal needs and desires are not discussed explicitly, except in particular cases when a problematic situation has arisen. As Mamdani argues for India, people are expected to place family needs above their own personal needs (1972:139). Although the Nyinba recognize the very real problems that barrenness or sonlessness can pose for individual women and the disappointment of not having children of their own for individual men, these pale in comparison with the threat posed to everyone else in the household in present and future. Similarly an excess of sons can be a nuisance to those who have to rear them, but the weight of concern is for the future of a household that may be strained to the breaking point by their numbers.

For these sorts of reasons, polygynous polyandry in conjoint marriages tends to be condemned as selfishness on the part of men who cannot amicably share a wife. In view of these societal attitudes and the supposed risk of partition, I had often wondered why the rate of conjoint marriage was so high. As Table 1 indicates, 15.1% of women initially entered into such unions. But in fact, as I found out, such marriages did not necessarily entail a large number of children for the next generation. (Nor necessarily do they last for the woman's entire life: only 6% of marriages are conjoint at the present time, due to divorces as well as partitions). Women who lived their lives in such unions had fewer children than their polyandrously and monogamously married sisters, as Table 5 shows.

Table 5. Marital Type and Fertility.

	Total Living Children	Total Living Sons	Total Living Daughters	Numbers of Women ^a
Women in Conjoint Unions	2.8 ^b	1.5 ^c	1.3 ^b	28 ^d
Women in Other Types of Unions	4.0	2.0	2.0	24

^aThese all are women aged 45 years and older.

^bThe difference in the two groups of women is significant at the .05 level (one-tailed test).

^cThe difference is significant at the .01 level (one-tailed test).

^dThis includes an expanded sample of women, virtually every woman in the population who either entered initially into a conjoint union, or whose marriage became conjoint within three years and remained so until she was 45.

Not only do the women in conjoint unions have fewer children, but significantly fewer children (at the 95% confidence level). Thus such a form of marriage doesn't necessarily pose an immediate danger to household solidarity. Households with two fertile wives produce on the average three living sons to a monogamous or polyandrous household's two. However a third of conjoint unions contain three wives who will have produced an average of 4.5 sons surviving to the end of their reproductive years, a potential source of future trouble. Conjoint marriage is the first step towards partition, meeting a necessary condition for the creation of two separate households, but not leading irrevocably to this (see also Levine 1977). In fact households can remain in a state of chronic, pre-partition indecision for two or three generations before they make the split.⁸ There are two possible reasons for this phenomenon. One is that the lower fertility of conjointly married women contributes to the long period of indecision, i.e., there are too few sons to ensure the creation and successful continuation of two new households in the first generation. The other is that ambivalent household attitudes toward partition influences the women's reproductive behaviour. These two interpretations are not mutually exclusive, but the second can imply a degree of conscious or unconscious fertility control.

Support for the hypothesis of an intentional reduction of child numbers can be found in the pattern of fertility of conjointly married women. For one thing, there simply seems to be no normative or statistically common social structural practices associated with conjoint unions which indirectly lower the women's fertility. Most (71%) of these unions currently have more or as many husbands as wives, so differences in pat-

terns of conjugal relations, a possible factor in polygynous unions (see Isaac 1980:307), are not implicated here. Age at marriage is not a factor either. Women who enter conjoint unions seem to wed at roughly the same age as other women. One must treat these comparisons with caution because of the small sample of women in these unions. However the equivalence in marital age seems reasonable because, although being a co-wife in a conjoint marriage is less desirable, these marriages often involve wealthy families. Girls who marry into wealthy families in monogamy or polyandry do so at an age of 16.6, versus 18.6 when the family is of lesser means. Despite the equivalent ages of marriage, women who enter conjoint unions bear their first child later, and, most notably, stop bearing children significantly sooner. Table 6 sums up these data.

Table 6. The Effects of Conjoint Marriage on Fertility

	Conjoint Marriage Mean (No. of Women)	Other Types of Unions Mean (No. of Women)
Age at Marriage	17.8 (5)	18.0 (38)
Age at First Birth	22.0 (5)	20.8 (32)
Age at Last Living Child's Birth ^a	32.5 (6)	37.6 (29)

^aIn some cases there may have been an additional child, born later on who did not survive and was not reported to me.

The table above shows the slight delay in beginning childbearing and the shortened reproductive career of conjointly married women. Such a woman will bear her first child 4.2 years after she weds, as opposed to the 2.8 years for a woman in other types of marriage. In the latter situation and under ordinary circumstances, a lapse of over four years in proving one's fecundity would be highly worrisome to the woman and her household.

The delay in childbearing, its short duration and the reduction in numbers of children born, all prompt questions as to the factors responsible, whether they are under intentional control and whether this is consciously recognized. As noted above, no institutional factors, i.e., those derived from social structural rules, seem to be involved. Nor is there any evidence that men deliberately select women of lower fecundity for such marriages, and, in fact, the early age at marriage would seem to preclude such decisions. Although I have no evidence that fertility control is an explicitly articulated aim, there does seem to be some mechanism or mechanisms of fertility regulation under voluntary control. And the most likely mechanism would seem to be voluntary abstinence. Let us examine the limited evidence for this interpretation.

Within the average Nyinba marriage, abstinence is considered unnatural and unhealthy, particularly for the young. It is unacceptable for a woman to turn her husband away, exceptional for a husband to appear disinterested. The situation changes when the couple get older and their children embark upon their own marriages. When the son or sons bring their new bride into the marital home they have no assigned special sleeping place at first and tend to sleep separately, arranging brief meetings late at night, on the roof or in the barn. But sooner or later, and I am not sure how this transition is effected, the young couple replaces the older one inside the hearth room, the main living quarters. At that time, the older couple begins curtailing their sexual relations; and it is said frequently of men and women past retirement that they have turned their attention from worldly things and live ascetic lives (see also Ortner 1978:58). While most women are well past forty by the time their sons have married and have begun their own family, some are not. These latter are said to voluntarily restrict their sexual activities, so as to avoid the shame of having children at the same time as their daughters-in-law living within the same household. The unmarried are, of course, abstinent too, by necessity. Thus we can see that abstinence is acceptable in certain parts of the life cycle. It is not inconceivable that women wishing to limit their children will abstain from sex within marriage. There is less cause to do so within polyandry and monogamy, and in circumstances where there is a single wife this may be a less popular decision. If it is a more acceptable course of action within conjoint marriage--and the evidence does point in that direction--household constraints are a likelier cause than are any individual desires of couples in conjoint "mini-marriages" to forego having more of their own children.

To suggest that fertility is under voluntary control in some contexts introduces the larger question of whether voluntary constraints are operative in the more prevalent marriage arrangements as well. As noted above, statistical tests fail to reveal any consistent practices of target fertility behaviour, but this may well be the outcome of having only a small sample for which certain relevant data are lacking and because of the varied circumstances affecting individuals. Perhaps the limitations are also difficult to measure because of the large numbers of children wanted and because of the complications introduced by high child mortality. Clearly more research is needed to ascertain the mechanisms involved in fertility regulation and the motivations for it.

Conclusion

Nyinba landholders all live in corporate households of identical structure and, despite considerable variations in wealth, all exhibit a characteristic pattern of fertility.⁹ People phrase and, as far as can be known, conceptualize their reproductive goals in terms of household benefits and needs. Those needs are simple and unambiguous: approximately two sons to carry on the household intact through the next generation. Approximately two daughters are wanted as well, although they are less 'necessary.' Daughters are valuable household members before they marry and are kin; through their marriages they create ties between different households.

Thus although parents may love their children and want them for personal reasons, these reasons have far lesser weight than the demands or needs of the household in which they are members. These needs, it must be reiterated, are not solely or predominantly economic, but equally involve kinship and political considerations. When personal and household desires come into conflict, the latter automatically have a certain priority. Needless to say, decisions made by and for the group are not always followed, and individuals may come to act in their own and against household interests. The resulting community disapproval rests on practical as much as normative grounds, and it is not uncommon to find various problems created by self-seeking, independent action. The principal example of this cited here was conjoint marriage which by setting the stage for household partition can result in lesser wealth and diminished prestige for everyone involved.

For these reasons, it would be misleading to presume that individual sets of parents guide reproductive decisions by personal considerations alone. If they consider economic and social factors in deciding whether to devote special energies to a child, those factors are gauged by household considerations. This focus on household needs should not be construed as 'altruism', for here individual welfare is coterminous with group welfare, and the future of the group affects oneself as one's children. To measure the costs and benefits of children to the parents alone can be less than profitable when the 'parents' include up to seven husbands and four wives who live together with the husbands' parents. Even when a Nyinba household resembles, due to demographic and developmental circumstance, a simple nuclear family the mode in which child value is calculated is bound to differ from that of societies in which nuclear families are more than a passing phase. For studies of the effects of child value on fertility to have greater cross-cultural validity they must expand their frameworks for research and analysis. A first step is developing a broader conception of domestic groups, one that can take account of the structural implications of polygynous and polyandrous marriage, extended family residential arrangements and so on. This cannot fail to offer greater insight into the various complex considerations guiding reproductive decisions within such households.

NOTES

1. Fieldwork among the Nyinba was carried out during eighteen months in 1973-75. Thanks are due to the National Science Foundation and the National Institute of Mental Health who supported the research and to Tshewang B. Lama who has served as my research assistant while in Humla and to the present.
2. These data concern married women only. All women, with the exception of a few nuns, eventually either marry or emigrate. Very few divorcees do not remarry eventually. While there were three very long-term divorcees, all were younger than 40 at the time of the survey and automatically were excluded from these calculations.

3. Another possible cause of higher female infant mortality among the Nyinba is an earlier cessation of breastfeeding for girls.
4. Some women remarry immediately, while others cannot. Unfortunately I lack data on the delays experienced, which may vary over time. For single women in 1973-75 too there were the possibilities only of a later marriage into a conjoint union, marriage to widowers or divorced men.
5. There are nine such monogamous women and ten polyandrous women over forty. The sample here is restricted by the exclusion of cases in which households have experienced developmental shifts (i.e., from monogamy to polyandry, etc). If we expand our pool of women by considering final marital arrangements alone, we get similar results: twenty-one monogamous women have an average 4.14 surviving children, while thirteen polyandrous women have 4.08. In neither case is the difference significant, but, of course, the sample size is too small to regard these as anything but suggestive results.
6. Despite the different mothers, these sons are considered brothers (pun) and expected to unite in fraternal polyandry, just as the sons of polyandrously married fathers do. However, while having different fathers poses little if any problem for fraternal solidarity, different mothers, even those who are sisters, quarrel over their children and thus reinforce their separateness.
7. The latter statements usually preceded a request to bring them birth control pills from one of my visits to Kathmandu.
8. It would be difficult to estimate the rate of partition among households which have become conjoint, because those which have not partitioned may do so at any moment, and those which did not partition in the previous generation may do so in the next. For obvious reasons, it is similarly impossible to speak of a rate of eventual partition. To count the number of generations it took to partition also can be misleading, because it counts only those households who have done so and excludes the "holdouts." All I can say is that in 1975, among 11 households who had had conjoint marriages, five had partitioned and six had not.
9. In fact poor women do bear somewhat (approximately 0.7) more children, but since they experience a higher child mortality, they are left with somewhat (approximately 0.6) fewer offspring at the end of their reproductive careers. It is impossible to tell if the slightly higher fertility is due to biological factors (i.e., the higher mortality and shortened period of lactation), or if it is pursued intentionally (i.e., to compensate for the higher mortality).

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Textual Structure in English and How the Nepali Learners Handle it

Abhi Subedi

1. Introduction

Bloomfield defines sentence as an independent linguistic entity which is not included in some larger linguistic form. Text sentences are not recognised as having grammatical construction. In other words, sentences are regarded as grammatically independent segments of texts. According to traditional grammar, sentences are the maximal units of grammatical description. Lyons (1977:30) distinguishes two types of sentences--system sentence and text sentence. System sentences are theoretical constructs that satisfy the notion of grammaticality. The Chomskyan sentence-generating grammar generates the system sentences. Text sentences do not fit the Bloomfieldian definition of a sentence. They are grammatically non-independent segments of text. They need context-dependent signals to become meaningful. It is not possible to find various prosodic and paralinguistic signals in the graphic medium to show the end of a text sentence. However, the native speakers can identify the text sentences by considering not only their prosodic and paralinguistic punctuation, but also their grammatical structure.

We have said earlier that text sentences are derived by contextualizing system sentences. System sentences, when they are contextualized, enter into inter-sentential relations. Here we come to the concept of a text. In the following paragraphs we are going to define text and analyse the various linguistic signals that go to the making of a text in English. Other languages could have similar or little different text forming resources than those we find in English, but we can easily hypothesize that every language has various text forming resources, and every language must have the distinction between system sentence and text sentence. It is the system sentences, as far as my knowledge goes, that are generated by the rules given by the Nepali grammars as well. But the grammars are mostly silent about the context sentences. In other words, the grammatically non-independent segments of text are not recognized by the Nepali grammars to date. However, it must be pointed out here that we are not talking about grammar when we talk about text, or discourse structure, even though we are using various grammatical units as the linguistic signals that go to the making of a text. So the study of a text per se is not the study of grammar.

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2. What is a Text

According to Van Dijk (1977:3), a text is regarded as an abstract theoretical construct underlying what is usually called discourse. A text is realized by reconstructing utterances in terms of a larger unit, and that larger unit is text. When utterances are given the textual structure they can be accepted as discourses of the language. Discourse can be related to communicative action. However, our concern in this paper is not so much the study of discourse as the analysis of textual structure in English.

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976:3), "Text is used in linguistics to refer to any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole." A native speaker should know by rule whether his own language constitutes a text or not. A text can have various forms as well as various genres. Spoken text may very well have the same kinds of textual features as a written text. In the written medium forms of writing such as prose narratives, expository essays, verse, monologues etc can have a text. It is misleading to define a text by its size. Similarly, a text is not a grammatical unit like a clause or a sentence, nor is a text a bigger or extended form of a sentence. In other words, a text is a semantic unit.

A text must have a texture. A texture is provided by various linguistic signals that function as the text forming resources of the language. Successive sentences show some kind of relationship through various linguistic signals. We are going to examine some of the signals and how they provide texture to the text in the following pages.

3. Organisation of Text

Textual structure in English will be examined under the following labels:

Information Structure
Thematic Structure, and
Cohesion.

Information Structure

The speaker decides how much of the content he is talking about his hearer can take in at one time. So the speaker will organise his discourse in various information blocks. The information focus is marked as the location of the tonic. The focal point is supposed to be not derivable from the preceding discourse. In the discourse the speaker organises his message structure in this way. The theme is something that is given in the preceding discourse which will be known as 'given'. But the speaker will always give a new information. So the other terms for theme and focus are 'given' and 'new'. The focus of his new information will be the rheme-part of a clause, not the theme part. The focus of new information is marked phonologically by the

placement of the tonic stress. But there can be more than one tone groups. If the utterance is not marked the above explanation about the phonological placement of the focus of new information will hold good. But, if the information is marked then the focus of the new information may not necessarily be the end of a clause. It could be anywhere in the utterance. For example:

- i. Malcolm is in the country//He's coming to see us on Friday
(unmarked)
- ii. //He's coming to the Jones on Friday//...not us (marked)
- iii. Isn't it lovely?//Malcolm's coming to see us on Friday//
(marked)

The information structure is realized by tonality, i.e., by the distribution of the text into tone groups. One information unit comprises one tone group. So the clause John saw the play yesterday (Halliday 1967:201) can have the following various options as information blocks:

- //John saw the play yesterday// - unmarked
- //John// saw the play yesterday// - marked
- //John// saw the play// yesterday// - marked
- //John saw the play yesterday but said nothing about it//
- //John// saw the play yesterday and is seeing it again today//

The new information blocks in the above examples are realized as the location of tonic. In organizing the information blocks like this the speaker has to decide how much information is signalled by a single intonation contour. Grimes (1975:274) calls this phenomenon of organizing information blocks INFORMATION INJECTION. The telegraphic style has the highest rate of information injection. In such style the apparatus of cohesion is squeezed to the minimum units. Similarly, politicians speak short information blocks: MY FRIENDS/ I COME here this evening/ to TELL you/ that we are ALL/ FACED/ with a GRAVE DECISION./ We MUST/ ELECT/ the BEST/ most HIGHLY QUALIFIED/ CANDIDATE/ from among our RANKS. (op. cit: 276):

The ratio between an information block and a clause is not exactly 1:1 but roughly one clause contains one information block. However, this ratio will depend on whether the information block is marked or not, and how much the apparatus of cohesion is squeezed to accommodate a higher degree of information.

The given information is regarded as anaphoric to the previous discourse. So it is optional. But the new information is obligatory. According to Clark and Clark (1977:246), if the terms, 'subject', and 'predicate' and 'frame' and 'insert' imply speaker-oriented meanings then 'given' and 'new' imply listener oriented meanings. If the information focus is unmarked 'given' and 'new' information will come in that

order. In monologues the above order is prominent; but in dialogues this order should be altered.

Sue: Who gave you that beautiful flute?

Dane: Hilary did.

HILARY is a wanted fact, which is pronounced with heavy stress and is a new information. Given and new information units signal the adjustments that the speakers must make to what has already been said and what is to come.

Thematic Organisation

The origin of thematization is not information unit but the clause. It assigns the clause a structure in terms of theme and rheme. The theme is that what comes at the beginning of the clause. Though theme and given information sound to have the synonymous meaning in the previous discussion it should however be pointed out that they are two independent options. Given means what you were talking about; new means what I am talking about now (Halliday 1967:206).

Themes can be either marked or unmarked. This depends on the mood system as well. For instance, the unmarked theme is the subject in a declarative clause, the verb in imperative clause and auxiliary or wh-word in interrogative clauses. If the first element of the sentence is none of these the theme is unmarked. Examples:

unmarked

I shall give most of them to Mary- Most of them I shall give to Mary.

Read those papers on the table, will you? - Those papers on the table,
read them, will you?

What was that sound I just heard?- That sound I just heard - what was that?

marked

Certain words are used to draw attention to the theme:

As for me, I am leaving shortly anyway (unmarked theme)

Now about those papers, I want you to burn them (marked)

As far as the rest are concerned, you can put your mind at rest
(marked)

Various transformations are possible of a thematic structure, such as passivization, fronting, clefting etc. Some examples:

Clefting: It's he that will not be hard to persuade of its truth.

Pseudo-clefting: What will not be hard is to persuade him of its truth. Where John's car is in Bill's garage.

Passivization: He was supplied with warm clothing.

In the above examples clefting is an example of identifying clause. Identifying clauses are used for highlighting a theme or of relating it to the rest of the clause. The identifying clauses are structured into two parts, one of which is nominalized and connected with verb be. The identifying clauses in the theme position have emphatic function.

To sum up, theme signals the starting point of a new message, and the theme is usually selected from given information. So theme is supposed to be anaphorically related to the previous discourse, and by the same token, it lends cognitive coherence to the discourse as a whole.

4. Cohesion

Cohesion lends cognitive coherence to the text as well. A text acquires texture through various linguistic signals, or lexicogrammatical units. Such units enter into meaningful relationships by hanging together and lend the text a texture. Without a texture random strings of sentences would not make any meaning. In order for the set of sentences to be meaningful there must exist linguistic cohesion between the lexicogrammatical units. There are five main linguistic devices which are used to achieve such cohesion. They are reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical organisation.

The structure of a text is not a simple linear structure. It is more complex than the structure of a clause. The units in a text should hang together from a semantic point of view. Cohesion is thus 'the set of possibilities that exist in the language for making text hang together the potential that the speaker or writer has at his disposal.' (Halliday and Hasan 1976:18). Cohesion is not a structural relation. So it is not restricted by sentence boundaries.

Though it is not possible to list all the lexicogrammatical units, or the formal markers of cohesion in this paper, a short description with examples of the cohesive units in English has been presented below:

Type of cohesive relation (represented in linguistic system)	Semantic	Lexicogrammatical
Conjunction	additive, adversative, casual and temporal relations; external and internal	discourse adjuncts: adverbial groups, prepositional groups
Reference	identification: by speech role by proximity by specificity reference point	personals demonstratives definite articles comparatives

Substitution	identity of potential reference in context of non-identity of actual reference (The semantic function is performed by such signals as one/ones, the same, do, be, have, likewise, be so, not etc.)	verbal, nominal or clausal substitute, verbal, nominal or clausal ellipsis
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Text, Context, Register and Discourse

All the above listed cohesive markers are used to organise the texture of a text. A text is a social event (Hasan 1978:229). The unfolding of this social event is linguistic. Text, according to Hasan, is a bridge between the verbal symbolic system and the culture. This means to say that there is a very close link between text and social context. Halliday and Hasan (1976) who have popularized the concept of register argue that the context of situation is difficult to handle except through such category as text genre or register. Three variables labelled as field, tenor and mode of discourse constitute the contextual construct. The variables and the values of the variables can be summed up in the following manner. (op. cit.:231)-

<u>variables</u>	<u>values of the variables</u>
field...	professional consultation: medical; application for appointment
tenor...	client: patient-applicant, agent for consultant: receptionist; maximum social distance...
mode...	aural channel: visual contact: telephone con- versation; spoken medium...

We do not have space here to discuss the concept of register in detail. However, the concept of register brings us closer to the concept of discourse. In other words, text is one way of looking beyond the limit of the sentence. The concept of textual structure and register analysis has, as popularized by Halliday and Hasan (1976), and Crystal and Davy (1969) has one obvious limitation. A register analysis is made by the collection of formal objects. But such analysis does not describe the communicative function of language, as popularized by Hymes, Labov and others.

Widdowson (1979:96) makes distinction between cohesion and coherence. A text may have cohesion but it may not be coherent. Similarly, a coherent text may be cohesive but will nonetheless perform the communicative function, which is a very important function of language. Widdowson cites the following examples, two pieces of a dialogue:

A: Can you go to Edinburgh tomorrow?

B. Yes I can.

A. Can you go to Edinburgh tomorrow?

B. B.E.A. pilots are on strike.

The first has cohesion. The response of B is linked with A's question. This cohesion is performed by means of ellipsis which is one of the cohesive markers in Halliday's system. But the second dialogue is not cohesive, but it is coherent, because the reply is linked with question indirectly. But such connection is shown by means of the formal properties of linguistic elements such as the formal markers of cohesion. To sum up, if a text is a social event, it should perform communicative function. To perform communicative function a text has to look beyond the label known as register to the performance of communicative function. A text can perform the communicative function at the level of discourse.

However, a text is useful in certain areas. Text is a controlled literary composition with a beginning, end and internal coherence. (Lyons 1976:631). If we judge our everyday conversations we find that they are not made up like this. So, even though the notion of text is useful in literary stylistics, it is not generalizable to the basic kind of language behaviour. But the propounders of text linguistics say that the native speakers are sensitive to the distinction between what is text and what is not. Apart from that every language has various text forming resources which are utilized by the native speakers to contextualize the system sentences. So the generalizability of text as a basic linguistic behaviour cannot be ruled out.

5. Textual Structure of the Nepali Users of English

Before proceeding on to discuss the properties of the non-native user's text, we present an instance of a text produced by an educated Nepali user of English:

The people of the eastern region show very high regards to the people who have done various social works in the region. In the development of the society it is necessary to have some public-spirited persons. This country has produced many good social workers in the past who have devoted their whole lives in the service of the society. The eastern region has been benefitted from the social services rendered by many public-spirited persons at different times in the past.

Though every country produces many persons who work with a great deal of enthusiasm and altruistic feeling, Nepali society has not produced many such workers. So we cannot but be surprised if somebody makes a complaint that the eastern region of Nepal has not produced many social workers

... Social workers are always produced in whatever circumstances it may be...

The most important feature of the writing of the non-native users of English lies in the use of the thematic structure. In this sample the writer does not seem to relate to the topic in the same way as a native speaker would. Theme does not seem to relate to the on-going topic in the text he produces. However, the text employs its own communicative strategies for organising the discourse. The text does not strictly follow the principles of what is known as the theme, rheme, new information and focus in the Hallidayian system of textual analysis. But in the text produced by the native speakers we can notice a tendency to continue the theme:

Brazil shares with Jamaica a common black heritage: in each case most of the country's slaves came from the coast of West Africa. In Brazil the slaves worked on the plantations of Bahia or in the gold mines of Minas Gerais. In Belo Horizonte, the modern capital of Minas Gerais, sits a plain two-story colonial house that goes by the name of Quilombo - after the free communities created by slaves who escaped from their Portuguese masters. This new Quilombo is a haven not for rebellious mine workers but for Brazil's consummate popular musician - Milton Nascimento.

The native speakers seem to prefer the maintenance of topic and an active agency. We can see the phenomenon well exemplified in this short text also. In the text 'Brazil', as the main theme, is introduced in the first sentence which is maintained in the following sentences through a linking device - a theme and rheme given and new structure as discussed earlier. Belo Horizonte is the sub-theme which is maintained by the anaphoric reference, 'this' in the theme structure of the last sentence. Similarly, we can see the active agency in this structure. In Belo Horizonte, the modern capital of Minas Gerais, sits a plain two-storey colonial house that goes by the name of Quilombo. (Italics mine, to show that the writer avoids the use of passive such as 'is located', 'that is called' respectively). Similarly, 'So John killed Bill' will be preferred to 'Bill was killed by John'; 'The Prime Minister stepped off the plane. The wind immediately buffeted her' will be preferred to 'She was ... wind'. The Nepali writers of English text do not necessarily seem to prefer these options as illustrated in the above text of the non-native user.

The initial sentence is chosen as the perspective of the entire paragraph, or, the first sentence is the most powerful switching device in the writings of native speakers, but in the above non-native user's text the organising principle is the topic and lexical cohesion. In another instance of a Nepali learner's English text, the initial sentence is the perspective of the entire paragraph, too but the texture of the text still depends more on the topic and lexical collocation. However,

the learner has developed her own communicative strategies such as organising the text round the main topic as closely as possible. Following is the extract:

Kathmandu is facing the highly growing traffic problem. The city roads are full of vehicle and crowded by people. It is very hard to cross the road specially for the school children and old people. The way of driving is very bad. The man who have a steering in his hand, don't care of the traffic rules so that very cases of accidents happens.

Another feature of the writing of the non-native users of a language is that there will be a very high degree of information injection in their texts. In our corpus of texts also we can find the same phenomenon. However, this might be a controversial topic because as we have noted earlier that certain forms of texts have higher degree of information injection than others. But talking about the tendency we can say that the native speakers seem to speak or write in large, well-organised information blocks. However, this is related to culture and various social contexts as well.

6. Conclusion

We have said earlier that every genre has its own text and discourse structure. Conversation has its own discourse structure, too. The structure of every genre of discourse in every language is derived from the text forming resources of the culture. So the analysis of text should depend on the cultural context of a text. Text analysis should not mean the interpretation but the explanation of the text. So the linguistic analysis of a text is not the evaluation but the explanation of the text. Such explanation of the non-native speakers' texts should be based upon the study of the communicative strategies adopted by the producers of the text. They tend not to follow the native speaker's strategies of the communication because those strategies may not necessarily help them in producing communicative texts. However, this is an entirely different area of study, but an important point to be borne in mind by those who analyse the texts produced by the Nepali users of English, or, for that matter, by the non-native users of a foreign language.

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Contraceptive Use and Its Determinants in a Semi—Urban Community: An Experience from Mahankal Panchayat

Ramesh M. Shrestha*

1. Introduction

The findings presented here are the result of a detailed analysis of the couples adopting various forms of contraceptive devices. All the information collected during the field research activity of the Family Health Project, IOM under UNFPA fund, is supplemented by additional information on family types, contraception history, etc. An attempt has been made in analysing the determinants of contraception use rather than analysing the type of contraceptives used.

2. Study Population

The Mahankal Panchayat is one of the 33 panchayats of the Kathmandu district located in the north-east corner of the Kathmandu Valley. It displays a major characteristics of a developing semi-urban settlement with 39 percent of the population engaged in agriculture and the rest undertaking various private and public sector employment requiring everyday transport to the Kathmandu city. The most frequently mentioned place of employment outside the panchayat includes Nepal Electricity Corporation, Bansbari Shoe Factory and various other hotels and restaurants in greater Kathmandu. The main output of this panchayat includes cereals, cattles and the poultry products which are sold in Kathmandu.

There are one high school and one middle school and several primary schools in the panchayat, but the literacy rate is only 35 percent for the population above five years of age. Less than 2 percent of the total population have a university level education. Chlorinated water and electric power are available only in certain parts of Ward Number Two serving about 11 percent of the total panchayat population. Lately electricity has also been distributed in parts of Ward Numbers 3 and 4 (after the completion of this study). Almost 90 percent of the population is dependent upon piped but untreated water and the other 10 percent live on river, ponds (Kuwa) and streams.

As regards the health services a health post, situated in Ward Number 2 provides both curative as well as preventive services. This health facility has been used as a field teaching unit of the Institute of Medicine since its commencement in 1967. It may be noted that no specific field programmes exist in the health posts. And it does not have field visiting staff.

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This panchayat is inhabited by 4491 individuals living in 791 households as of December 1981. With the revision of panchayat boundaries the Ward Number 1 through 4 and half of Number 5 have been named Mahankal and the Ward Number 6 through 9 and the other half of Ward Number 5 have been renamed Chunikhel panchayat. For the present purpose the analysis is done by using the original frame of the panchayat and Ward territory. The age and sex composition of the panchayat is similar to national figures with 43.5 percent under 15 years, 51.2 percent belonging to age group 15-59 years and 5.3 percent above 60 years of age. The sex ratio of 1.023 is same as for Nepal (1.023), for 1981 (CBS).

3. Research Design

The first phase of the field work consisted of numbering all the houses within the political boundary of the panchayat(s). The numbering process was also accompanied by mapping of the panchayat for easy location during further field studies. A total of 791 households were identified. A common family having more than one dwelling unit was also identified in the map with identical numbers.

The second phase of the field activity involved enumeration of all the demographic data and identification of the eligible couples who were to be interviewed using a standardized questionnaire. No sampling was done to select the respondents. It was agreed that all the eligible couples would be interviewed. Accordingly a total of 701 eligible couples were available for interview. The rest of the couples could not be interviewed because they either refused or were absent during repeated visits.

Pre-Test

The questionnaire used was pretested in three panchayats of similar setting in the Kathmandu Valley. The interviewing and recording were done by 9 teams of three members each. For the purpose of standardizing the information and keeping the bias at a minimum one individual was assigned to interview and a second team member did the recording. In three teams one of the interviewers was female.

4. Findings

During the house to house visit a total of 661 couples were met and interviewed on various aspects of family health. The results presented here are focussed only on family planning. A total of 141 couples (21.3%) were found to be using some kind of contraceptive device. Various social and demographic characteristics of this population were analysed in detail for the possible identification of important determinants of contraceptive use. These are presented below:

Ethnic Group and Physical Location in Panchayat

The ethnic distribution of the 661 couples was similar to the ethnic distribution of the panchayat population: more than 50 percent were Newars, 27 percent Chhetris and the rest were Brahmins and other minority groups. The test of significance proved this difference in distribution to be statistically not significant ($X = 1.8$ $df = 2$). As mentioned earlier a total of 141 couples reported using some form of contraceptive device which works out to 21.3% of all interviewed couples. This reported figure of contraception use seems very high for Nepal by any standard compared to previous findings. The World Fertility Survey/NFS reported a 3 percent use rate in 1976 and the Surkhet District Community Health Survey reported 10.1 percent in 1978. Considering the location of this panchayat and analysing the methods (107 permanent, 34 temporary) the reported figures may be assumed to reflect the true picture of such semi-urban areas.

When the family planning acceptors were broken by Wards, a higher rate of acceptors were found in Ward Numbers 1, 2 and 4 (Table I). These three Wards are located along the Kathmandu-Budhanilkantha Road and the Kathmandu Ring Road. It is therefore likely that the mobility of people in these Wards and their constant contact with greater Kathmandu made them aware of various family planning methods and objectives. People in these Wards also commute to greater Kathmandu for social as well as health reasons due to easy availability of facilities like public and private transportation, etc.

This assumption however cannot alone explain the high rate of family planning acceptors in Ward Numbers 7, 8 and 9 (20.9%, 26.9% and respectively) which are about 30 to 90 minutes away from the nearest black top road. It thus seems likely that certain other factors besides Ward location are operating in creating this difference. The analysis of ethnic composition of the Wards showed that Ward Numbers 1, 2 and 4 with the highest level of acceptors have mostly Chhetris and Brahmins and some Newars. On the other hand Ward Numbers 7, 8 and 9, also with a high rate of family planning acceptors but situated away from urban contact, have a great majority of Newars, 100 percent in Ward Numbers 7 and 9 and 58 percent in Number 8. It therefore contradicts with statement made earlier that living closer to greater Kathmandu may have increased the consciousness of family planning. Apparently it also seems unlikely that difference in ethnic composition has brought about difference in the rate of family planning acceptors in different wards. It may be likely that Newars in Ward Number 1, 2 and 4 diluted the percent of family planning acceptors to a certain extent.

Table I. DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES INTERVIEWED BY THEIR WARD
LOCATION AND FAMILY PLANNING ACCEPTANCE (MAHANKAL 1981)

Ward No .	Family Planning		Total %	Couples N
	Acceptor	Non-Acceptor		
1.	37.0	63.0	100	54
2.	28.6	71.4	100	91
3.	11.5	88.5	100	61
4.	22.5.	77.5	100	71
5.	17.3	82.7	100	52
6.	6.2	93.8	100	68
7.	20.9	79.1	100	115
8.	26.9	73.1	100	78
9.	19.7	80.3	100	71
All Wards	21.3	78.7	100	661

Analysing the family planning acceptance by ethnic group the overall rate for Newars is found 50 percent lower than Chhetris or Brahmins which is statistically significant at $p = 0.001$ ($X = 21.93$, $df = 2$). Taking Newars away from the analysis the statistical significance in the difference between ethnic groups disappeared ($X = 0.92$, $df = 1$). It thus seems that not being a member of Newar Community increases the overall rate of family planning acceptance rate which seems to have a synergistic effect when coupled with the physical location of the household in the panchayat.

This assumption however did not gain much credit when ethnic group was standardized. The total percent of acceptor in the panchayat was 21.3 percent when the ethnic group was standardized the acceptor rate increased to 22.5 percent. The 1.2 percent difference may seem to be a significant rise when we discuss the general trend of family planning practice but statistically speaking a rise in 1.2 percent in standardized rate could not be given much emphasis.

Family Type and Family Planning Acceptance

The analysis of data on family type (Table 2) indicates that the rate of family planning acceptance is significantly higher in nuclear families than in extended families ($p = 0.001$ $X = 12.16$, $df = 1$). This finding corroborates with world fertility survey data from other countries on differences in the levels of fertility in the two types of families.

Table 2. DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES INTERVIEWED BY FAMILY TYPE
AND FAMILY PLANNING ACCEPTANCE (Mahankal 1981)

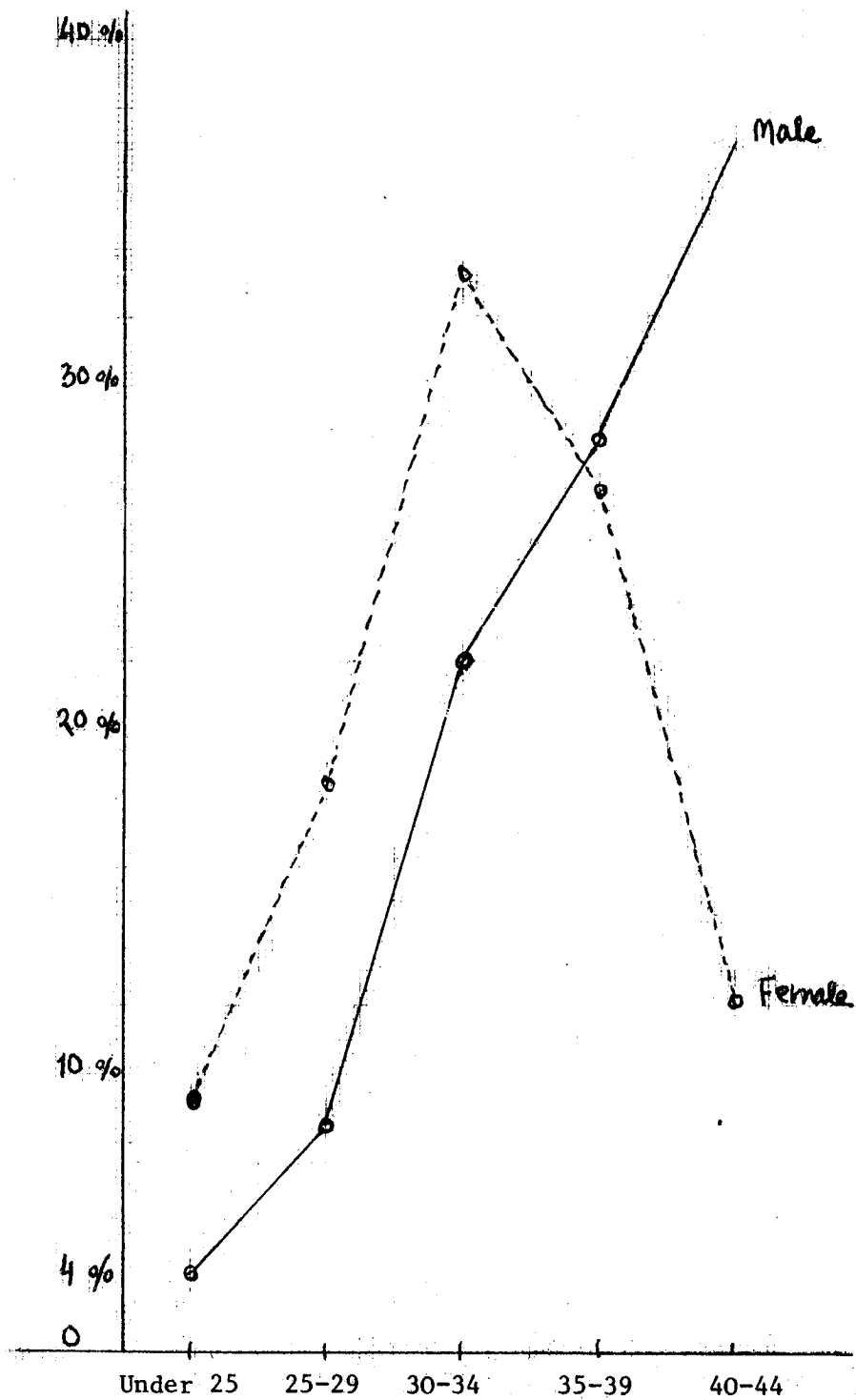
Family Type	Family Planning		Both	
	Acceptor	Non-Acceptor	%	N
Nuclear	27.2	72.8	100	316
Extended	15.9	84.1	100	345
Both types	21.3	78.7	100	661

The fertility rate in joint families has been found to be higher than in nuclear families (Bebarta 1977). In the present study, the higher acceptance in nuclear families was true in all Wards ($p < 0.005$, $X = 47.73$, $df = 24$), indicating that family types plays a role irrespective of the Ward location.

The influence of family structure on fertility has been discussed in many other context (Okada 1973). It has been argued that the economic burden of child rearing does not fall directly on parents in extended families (Okada 1973). This assumption may explain why family planning acceptance is lower in extended families than in nuclear families. In nuclear families, therefore, the family planning acts as an agent to keep the small family norm in response to growing economic demand of child rearing. Should the formation of nuclear families be encouraged the demand for family planning may steeply increase. However, any artificial agents introduced to create nuclear families may meet various degrees of resistance in traditional Nepalese Societies where extended family has been the norm. A further investigation is needed in this field before outlining any such recommendations. Furthermore, considering the advantages of extended families, a deliberate effort to promote the nuclear family might be undesirable.

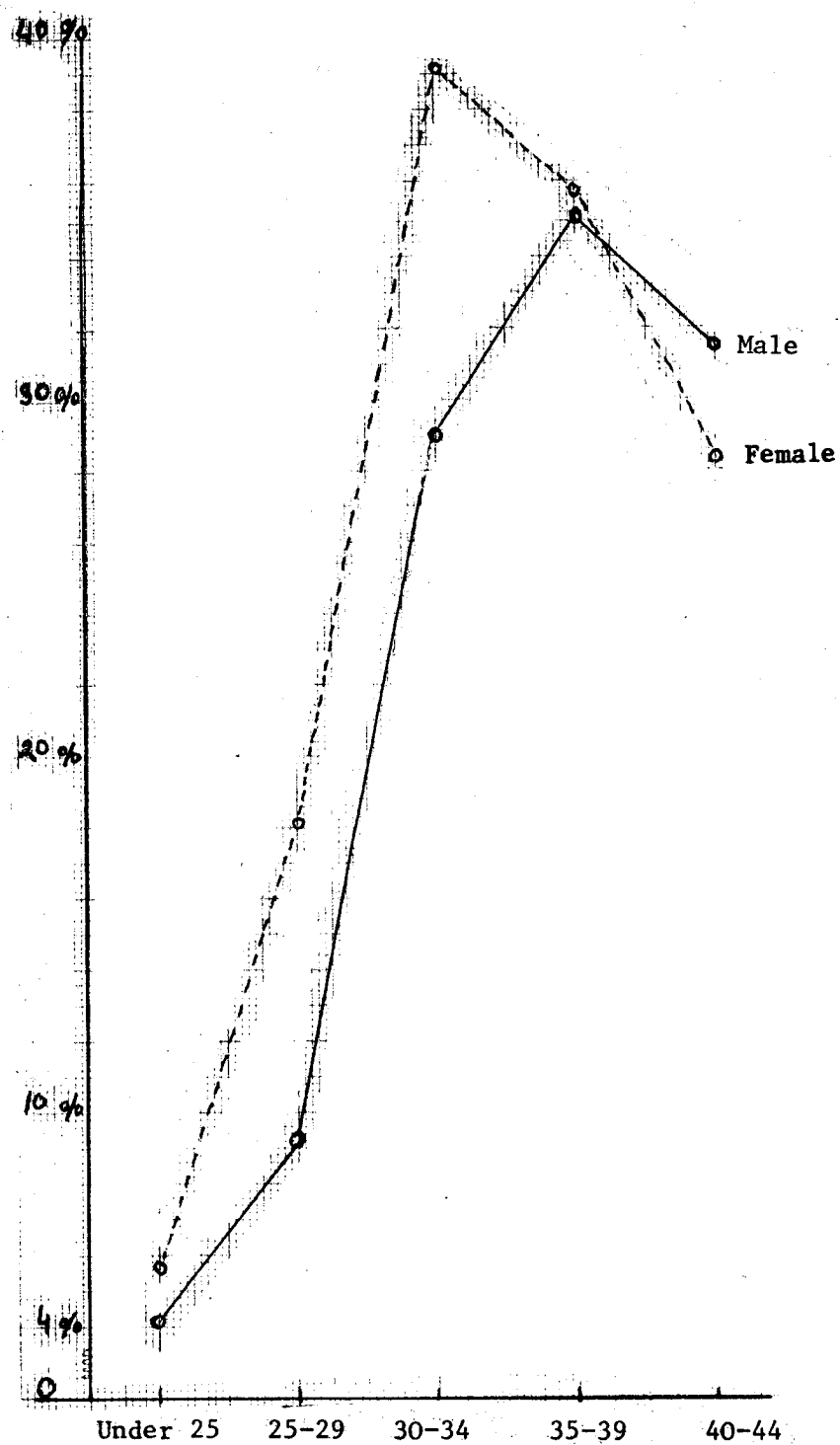
Age of the Couple

The age distribution of the family planning acceptors indicates a steady rise in percent of acceptors with increasing of age for male, and for female it declines slowly after the age of 35 years (Fig. 1). The decline in the percent of family planning acceptor for females after the age 35 years could be due to reasons like natural gap between pregnancies, etc. Looking at the percent of contraceptive users within each age group presents a similar picture for both sexes (Fig. 2; App. 3). This may mean that the chance of accepting family planning increases with the advancing of age and remains unchanged or falls after a specific age group. The possible reason for this change in attitude may be related to number of surviving children. It is likely that with the advancing of age the couples would have had the 'desired' number of children/sons and therefore would be likely to accept family planning more readily than younger couples with fewer children. Since the number of children



Age group in years
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY PLANNING
ACCEPTORS BY AGE AND SEX (Mahankal 1981)

Fig. 1



PERCENT OF MALE AND FEMALE FAMILY
PLANNING ACCEPTORS WITHIN EACH AGE
GROUPS (Mahankal 1981)

Fig. 2

and age of the mother are related it may be misleading to exert importance on any one of these factors as an indisputable determinant. In most acceptable cases number of children may have more influence than age of the mother.

Since differences in the characteristics between permanent and temporary family planning acceptors were expected a separate analysis was done. The age of women at the time they had accepted either the temporary or permanent method in use at the time at the study is present in Table 3.

Table 3. DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN BY AGE AT THE TIME OF ACCEPTING FAMILY PLANNING BY TYPE OF METHOD (Mahankal 1981)

Family Planning methods	Age Group in Years					All Ages	
	Under 25	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	%	N
Temporary	14.7	11.8	38.2	20.6	14.7	100	34
Permanent	22.4	39.2	25.2	12.1	1.0	100	107
Both	%	20.6	32.6	28.4	14.1	4.0	100
	N	29	46	40	20	6	141

$$\chi^2 = 27.96 \text{ df } 4 \text{ P } 0.001$$

More women accepting permanent method did so at an earlier age than those accepting temporary methods. More than 60 percent of all the permanent methods acceptors did so when they were under 30 years of age while more than 70 percent of the temporary method acceptor did so only after the age of 30 years.

There seems to exist some kind of intrinsic difference between the two groups of women leading to such difference in attitude towards various family planning methods. One possibility is that women who accepted sterilization may have born more children at an earlier age than those who use temporary methods. Upon analysing number of children surviving by permanent and temporary methods acceptor, as expected, it was found that women who were sterilized had a higher mean number of children, compared to those using temporary methods (Table 4).

Table 4. DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES BY METHOD OF FAMILY PLANNING AND NUMBER OF SURVIVING CHILDREN (Mahankal 1981)

FP Method	Number of children							%	N
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6+		
Temporary	2.9	2.9	14.7	29.4	20.6	23.5	5.9	100	34
Permanent	-	1.9	9.3	38.3	25.2	13.1	12.1	100	107
Both	%	0.7	2.1	10.6	36.2	24.1	15.6	16.6	100
Methods	N	1	3	15	51	34	22	15	141

Mean number of children per couple temporary acceptor 3.59
 Mean number of children per couple permanent acceptor 3.81
 Mean number of children per couple all acceptors 3.76

Number and Sex of Children

The analysis of the total number and sex of the children were based on the available information about the number of children surviving at the time of the interview. As expected the proportion of couples adopting family planning increased with the increasing number of surviving children (Table 5). The data show that the proportion of couples accepting family planning increases sharply after having two surviving children. More than 85 percent of all the acceptors had three or more children. On the other hand close to 60 percent of the non-acceptors have less than 3 children surviving at the time of interview (App. 4). Two to three children (surviving) therefore seem to act as a threshold point between acceptors and non-acceptors. A test of significance on the difference between the mean number of children between the family planning acceptor (3.76 per couple) and non-acceptor (3.28 per couple) proved to be significant at P 0.001 level ($\chi^2 = 9.87$). But the small difference in real terms suggests that this is less important than probable other determinants.

Table 5. PROPORTION OF COUPLES ADOPTING FAMILY PLANNING BY NUMBER OF SURVIVING CHILDREN (Mahankal 1981)

No. of Surviving Children	Proportion of Acceptors (N)	
0	1.2	80
1	2.6	114
2	11.7	128
3	33.8	151
4	34.0	100
5	41.5	53
6+	42.9	35
Total	21.3	661

Given that the observations made are a reflection of the prevailing conditions in such a community it is likely that couples in such a semi-urban area consider accepting family planning upon having 3-4 children. If this assumption is correct, very soon this community will have about 4 hundred couples wanting to embark on to family planning within the next two years provided no other inputs are being made to alter the family size.

Number of surviving sons must be given due consideration in discussing number of children. To give birth to a son for perpetuating the family clan has more sentimental value than anything else. In certain circumstances it becomes a matter of prestige for a couple to have one or more male children. Therefore most couples who already have more than an affordable number of children are likely to decline family planning services unless they are blessed with one or more boys. In view of this, all the couples interviewed were classified by number of surviving male children and family planning status (App. 5). Almost 70 percent of the couples with no son or one son are listed as non-acceptors while 96 percent of the acceptors reportedly have one or more sons. Analysing only the acceptors, permanent methods acceptors have a slightly higher mean (2.37 sons per couple) than temporary acceptors (2.02 sons per couple) which was found statistically significant at $p < 0.005$ ($X = 1.65$). Both these means are higher than mean number of sons for non-acceptors (1.13 sons per couple). This observation identified the need for considering target population for the future family planning activities.

Analysing the same couples by number of surviving daughters showed no consistency (App. 6). A little more than 75 percent of the couples with no or one daughter were found non-acceptors and so do about 50 percent acceptors. A comparative study of App. 5 and 6 should be self-explanatory in identifying the relative weight given to family planning and having male or female children.

Comparing the overall number of sons and children among the acceptors and non-acceptors it is seen that family planning acceptors have on average 36 percent higher number of male children compared to non-acceptors. It thus seems reasonable to believe that couples in a semi-urban community with an average of 3 to 4 surviving children stimulates to accept family planning devices. Alternatively if the couples have 2-3 sons, the family planning advise and services are well received.

Mean Age

As seen above couples accepting family planning did so at an age between 30-39 years, which is complimented by having 'desired number' of children. Table 6 shows that the mean age of sterilization was 33.5 years for males and 28.3 years for females.

Table 6. MEAN AGE OF THE MALE AND FEMALE SPOUSE AT THE TIME OF STERELIZATION (Mahankal 1981)

Mean Age at Time of Sterelization	Type of Permanent Method		
	Vasectomy	Lap/Tub.	All Type
Husband	33.3 [±] 6.4	36.4 [±] 13.2	33.5 [±] 7.0
Wife	28.3 [±] 4.8	28.2 [±] 3.6	28.3 [±] 4.7
(N)	98	9	107

The mean age of the females who had laparoscopy or tubectomy is same as that of females whose husbands had vasectomy. On the other hand males who had vasectomy were found younger by about 3 years compared to males whose spouse had laparoscopy. This difference in age was found statistically not significant ($Z = 1.373$, 1.96 at 0.5 level). A possible explanation for this age difference may be related to feared side effects of vasectomy and hence the females are submitted for laparoscopy after much thought so the mean age of the husband whose wife underwent laparoscopy is raised. Other possibility is that the higher mean age of the male spouse accepting female sterilization is because of the greater age difference between the couples. To give further explanations to this, additional information may be needed.

Occupation

Occupation, as has been reported elsewhere (WFS 1978) have some influence in determining the use of contraceptives. The distribution of couples in certain occupational groups is very small like among the labourer, students, etc. The present result may be of less significance in generalizing for other populations with difference occupational distribution. As seen in Table 7 the ratio of family planning acceptor was found highest among those who are employed in the private and public sector. This group of couples is expected to have a maximum number of personal contact with other people outside their own community. As mentioned earlier all the employed individuals have to commute to their place of work every day by public transport or on foot. This obviously increases their frequency of contact with outside people. This may have been one of the contributing factors in acquiring more knowledge on family planning that eventually made him/her a client. A higher ratio of family planning acceptor, noted among the business class, may not be given due consideration owing to small number in this category of occupation.

Table 7. RATIO OF FAMILY PLANNING ACCEPTORS BY OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND
(Mahankal 1981)

Occupation Type	Acceptor/Non/Acceptor Ratio	
Agriculture	29	N=65
Private/Public Employee	51	37
Student	(27)	3
Labourer	13	8
Domestic Worker	16	21
Business	(67)	4
Unemployed	(50)	3
All types	27.1	141

It is reasonable to correlate that those who are employed may also have a higher grade of education compared to other occupations. Therefore, the high ratio of family planning acceptors in the employed group could be an attribute of education or a combination of both, education and occupation. Another possibility is that employment outside the panchayat territory is mainly a non-Newar affair. Therefore, it seems like a synergistic effect of Ethnic group, ward location occupation and education.

Education Level

When the husband's education level was used as an index of measuring the rate of family planning acceptance a positive correlation was found as follows:

<u>Husband's Education Status</u>	<u>Percent Acceptors</u>
10th grade or more can	64.7
read and write but no	44.4
formal education	
dropouts	20.2
illiterate	21.6

It is likely that school dropouts and the illiterate groups have a similar attitude towards various social amenities including family planning unlike the group with husbands education 10th class or more and the literate group without formal education. The latter groups attitude of learning made them more aware of various social phenomenon and hence are allined more with the educated groups. These assumptions however need further empirical evidence to be of any significance. It merely proves that education level of couples somehow proves significant in accepting contraceptive practices.

5. Conclusion

Reviewing all the observations made it is evident that some kind of demographic change is on the way. It is however too early to discuss in detail the reasons for this in terms of their implications for national policy matters. It is interesting to see that the high social value given on having as many number of children as possible have changed to a considerable degree. The norm seems to have moved to having fewer number but of 'high quality'. This may be an outcome of a very high economic pressure in rearing and educating children. An important observation made is that this wide spread use of contraception is not used for child spacing. The concept of family planning is understood mostly as a limiting of family size.

Data from several Asian countries including Nepal show that the impact of sterilization on women above the age of 30 years has a limited significance on the number of births averted (Nortman, 1980). Nortman in 1980 reported a mean age of 32.2 for tubectomy patients with a mean number of 4.4 children for Nepal. The present study indicated a decline in the mean age at tubectomy and is reasonable to believe that the number of births averted in this community has increased to more than an average for Nepal.

There are a number of limitations that must be considered in interpreting the above findings for use at a National level. One observation that could be generalised for sure is the universal decline in total fertility and increasing acceptance of family planning practice in urban and semi-urban areas throughout the country. Any deliberations on the national policy must give considerations to the social and changing cultural factors of the ever expanding semi-urban population of Nepal.

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Appendix 1. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS BY WARDS (Mahankal 1981)

Ward No.	Ethnic Groups				Total % (N)	
	Newar	Brahmin	Chhetri	Others		
1	-	12.5	72.2	32.2	100	320
2	17.6	9.3	57.6	15.4	100	623
3	12.9	15.8	50.4	20.8	100	494
4	6.9	19.2	33.6	40.3	100	548
5	45.2	23.2	31.4	-	100	328
6	100.0	-	-	-	100	437
7	100.0	-	-	-	100	761
8	57.9	17.8	24.3	-	100	461
9	100.0	-	-	-	100	519
All %	52.2	9.0	27.2	11.6	100	
Wards (N)	2345	403	1220	523		4491

Appendix 2. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES INTERVIEWED BY LEVEL OF FAMILY PLANNING ACCEPTANCE AND ETHNIC GROUP OF RESPONDENT (Mahankal 1981)

Ethnic* Group	Family Planning		Total % (N)	
	Acceptor	Non-Acceptor		
Newar	15.8	84.1	100	353
Chhetri	33.3	66.7	100	177
Brahmin	31.1	68.9	100	61
Others	10.0	90.0	100	70
All %	21.3	78.7	100	
Groups (N)	141	520		661

$$\chi^2 = 21.93 \text{ df} = 2; p = 0.001$$

$$\chi^2 = 0.92 \text{ df} = 1; p = 0.9 \text{ (without Newars)}$$

Appendix 3. DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES INTERVIEWED BY FAMILY PLANNING ACCEPTANCE WITHIN EACH AGE-SEX GROUPS

Age Group in Years	Males Total				Female Total			
	Accep.	Non. Accep.	%	(N)	Accep.	Non. Accep.	%	(N)
Under 25	4.1	95.8	100	145	5.6	94.4	100	231
25-29	9.2	90.8	100	130	18.1	81.9	100	144
30-34	29.0	71.0	100	107	39.2	60.8	100	120
35-39	35.1	64.9	100	114	35.8	64.2	100	106
40-44*	31.5	68.5	100	165	28.3	71.7	100	60
All age groups	21.3	78.7	100	661	21.3	78.8	100	661

*For males read it as 40 + years.

Appendix 4. DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES BY NUMBER OF SURVIVING CHILDREN AND LEVEL OF FAMILY PLANNING ACCEPTANCE (Mahankal 1981)

No. of Children	% of Family Planning	
	Acceptor	Non-Acceptor
0	0.7	15.2
1	2.1	21.3
2	10.6	21.7
3	36.2	19.2
4	24.1	12.7
5	15.6	6.0
6+	10.6	3.8
Total	% 100 N 541	100 520

Appendix 5. DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES BY NUMBER OF SURVIVING SONS AND LEVEL OF FAMILY PLANNING ACCEPTANCE (Mahankal 1981)

Number of Sons	FAMILY PLANNING			
	Acceptor		Total Accep.	Non Acceptor
	Permanent	Temporary		
0	2.8	5.9	3.5	34.0
1	16.8	23.5	18.4	35.7
2	46.7	44.1	46.1	17.9
3	16.8	17.6	17.1	8.3
4	10.3	5.9	9.2	3.5
5+	6.5	2.9	5.7	0.6
Total % N	100 107	100 34	100 141	100 520
Mean Number of sons per couples	2.37	2.02	2.26	1.13

Appendix 6. DISTRIBUTION OF COUPLES BY NUMBER OF SURVIVING DAUGHTERS AND LEVEL OF FAMILY PLANNING ACCEPTANCE (Mahankal 1981)

Number of daughters	FAMILY PLANNING			
	Acceptors		Total Acceptor	Non Acceptor
	Permanent	Temporary		
0	20.5	23.5	21.3	35.0
1	31.8	20.6	29.1	33.2
2	32.7	32.4	32.6	18.8
3	10.3	23.5	13.5	8.5
4	4.7	-	3.5	4.5
Total % N	100 107	100 34	100 141	100 520
Mean Number of daughters per couples	1.46	1.55	1.48	1.15

Ages at Menopause and Menarche in a High Altitude Himalayan Population

Cynthia M. Beall*

1. Introduction

The paucity of published information on factors influencing age at menopause contrasts with the abundance of information on factors influencing age at menarche. Indeed the similar ages at menopause among various Western populations surveyed to date is noteworthy in reflecting an apparent lack of cultural, biological and environmental influences (e.g. Goodman et al, 1978; Gray, 1976; Malina, 1979). The results of a study at middle altitude (2300m) in the Indian Himalayas suggest that altitude is a geographic factor which may accelerate menopause (Flint, 1974). The purpose of this report is to further explore this relationship by presenting information on age at menopause and menarche in a high altitude Himalayan population.

2. Materials and Methods

The sample is drawn from the population of Upper Chumik, Mustang District, Dhaulagiri Zone, Nepal, a high altitude valley inhabited by native Tibetan speaking Buddhists living in six villages ranging in altitude from 3250 to 3560m. A 1977 census counted 1260 Tibetan residents. 689 volunteers of all ages and health statuses participated in a study of high altitude adaptation conducted from June through September 1981. Each participant received a thorough medical exam (collection of current medical complaints, a review of systems and a physical exam) enabling diagnosis of acute and chronic illness.

Age at menarche and menopause are assessed using the status quo and the recall techniques. During the course of the medical examination, each female was asked if she were menstruating. If the answer was no, then it was ascertained whether she was premenarcheal, pregnant, lactating, or postmenopausal. If menstruation had ceased for 6 months or more and the woman was not lactating or pregnant then she was classified as postmenopausal. Each female was classed as present/absent with respect to the experience of menarche and menopause and if yes for either then a recalled age of occurrence was requested. The length of the biological reproductive lifespan was calculated by subtracting recalled age at menarche from recalled age at menopause.

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Age was assessed by transforming two Tibetan systems into the Western system. One Tibetan system of reckoning age is based on a sixty year cycle of named years. Individuals know the name of their birth-year and this is easily translated into a Western calendar year and an accurate age in years obtained. Tibetans also count age in years in a numerical system that overestimates age by an average of 18 months compared with the Western system (Beall, 1981). Women in this study were asked the name of their birthyear as well as their present age, ages at menopause and/or menarche in Tibetan years. Subtracting birthyear from year of measurement (1981) yielded a chronological age in the Western system that nearly always agreed within two years of the individual's stated age using the Tibetan system, as expected given the average discrepancy between the two systems. To convert age at menarche and menopause recalled from the Tibetan numerical system into the Western system, one year was subtracted from the ages recalled in the Tibetan numerical system. This yields the age at the birthday subsequent to menarche or menopause and as such overestimates the age by an average of six months. In the final tabular analysis an additional half year is subtracted from the calculated means in order to report data comparable to samples reported in the Western manner (where recalled age is usually the birthday prior to the event and six months generally added in the final analysis (Garn, 1980:128).

Analyses of five subsamples are presented. The first is a status quo subsample of 80 females aged 12-25 for whom a median and standard deviation of age at menarche are calculated using probit analysis. The second subsample consists of all women aged 20-79 past menarche who are further classed into decennia (20-29, etc.). The mean and standard deviation of recalled age at menarche is calculated for the total sample and an analysis of variance is conducted comparing recalled age at menarche among the six decennia. The third is a status quo subsample of 49 females aged 39-53 for whom a median and standard deviation of age at menopause are calculated using probit analysis. The fourth and fifth subsamples consist of all women past menopause and women aged 50-79 past menopause. A mean and standard deviation of recalled age at menopause and length of the biological reproductive span (recalled age at menopause less recalled age at menarche) is calculated for each. For all women past menopause, three correlations coefficients are calculated: between recalled age at menarche and menopause, recalled age at menarche and length of the biological reproductive span and recalled age at menopause and length of the biological reproductive span. In addition, women 50-79 are classed into three decennia (50-59, etc.) and analysis of variance is conducted comparing recalled age at menopause among the three decennia. The reason for analyzing two postmenopausal subsamples is that the sample of all women past menopause tends to underestimate the population age at menopause because women who are still menstruating are not included since their later age at menopause is not known. Presenting a separate analysis of a group of women aged roughly three standard deviations above the median age at menopause substantially decreases the possibility of such a bias toward underestimation since virtually all these women have experienced menopause.

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3. Results

The median age at menarche among Upper Chumik females estimated by probit analysis of the status quo subsample is 16.2 ± 1.1 years. The average recalled age of menarche among females twenty and older is 16.9 ± 2.0 years ($N = 182$) and agrees closely. The mean recalled ages at menarche of the six decennia presented in Table 1 range from 16.5 to 17.6 years. Although the oldest women recall an age at menarche 0.9 years later than the youngest, analysis of variance reveals that the trend is not statistically significant ($F = 1.1$, $df = 5/176$, $p = .36$).

Table 1

AGE (yrs)	Recalled Age at Menarche		
	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	N
20-29	16.7	1.5	52
30-39	16.9	2.4	40
40-49	16.5	1.5	37
50-59	17.1	1.7	25
60-69	17.6	2.4	20
70-79	17.6	3.1	8
ALL	16.9	2.0	182

Mean Recalled Age at Menarche Among Upper Chumik Women Aged 20-79 in 6 Decennia.

The median age at menopause estimated by probit analysis of the status quo subsample is 46.8 ± 1.1 years. The average recalled age at menopause among females fifty and older is 45.9 ± 5.7 years ($N = 52$). The mean recalled ages at menopause of the decennia 50-57 range from 44.2 to 47.4 years (refer to Table 2). Although the youngest (50-59) postmenopausal decennium reports the highest recalled age at menopause, analysis of variance indicates that the trend is not statistically significant ($F = 1.46$, $df = 2/49$, $p = .24$). The average length of the biological reproductive span is 28.5 ± 6.1 years ($N = 51$). Ages at menarche and menopause are not correlated ($r = .10$, $p = .23$, $N = 58$). Age at menarche correlates weakly negatively ($r = -.29$, $p < .02$, $N = 57$) and age at menopause correlates strongly positively ($r = .93$, $p < .001$, $N = 57$) with length of the biological reproductive span.

Table 2

AGE (yrs)	Recalled Age at Menopause		N
	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	
50-59	47.4	5.3	23
60-69	45.0	5.6	20
70-79	44.2	6.6	9
Overall	45.9	5.7	52

Mean Recalled Age at Menopause Among Upper Chumik Women Aged 50-79 in 3 Decennia.

4. Discussion

The internal consistency of the status quo and the recall assessments provide evidence of the accuracy of the retrospectively obtained data. The recalled age at menopause and menarche in each decennia lie within two standard deviations of the median estimated from the status quo subsamples. The single exception to this is the average age at menopause of 44.2 years recalled by women aged 70-79. It is not unthinkable that recall be less accurate in this oldest group of women, though there seems little reason to suspect that it be less accurate for menopause than menarche and these women do recall an age at menarche well within normal limits for this population. Possibly this low average is due rounding off to age 45 in the Tibetan numerical age system which when transformed into the Western and then further corrected would yield an age of 43.5. Another possibility is random fluctuation due to the small sample size in this decennium. And there is the possibility of a true secular trend toward later age at menopause. However, analysis of variance revealed no statistical trend toward later age at menopause or earlier age at menarche, a finding in accord with unpublished data from this sample indicating no secular trend in growth of the long bones. This indicates that the timing of these developmental events as well as the biological characteristics influencing them are similarly experienced by women currently and in the recent past.

The median age at menopause of 46.8 years is accelerated compared with the medians around 50 reported for Western industrial populations (Gray, 1976; Malina, 1979). By the age of 50 when nearly all Upper Chumik women are post-menopausal, only half of U.S. women are naturally postmenopausal (MachMahon and Worcester, 1966). The present sample is also accelerated relative to a Rajput sample at 2300m in India whose average age at menopause of 47.3 compared with 48.9 for a sample of Rajput women at 300m (Flint, 1974). Apart from two very low medians of 43.6 and 44.0 years reported for a New Guinea and an Indian sample, respectively (Gray, 1976), published medians are higher than that calculated for Upper Chumik. Data on non-European, non-industrial populations are scarce for this parameter. While the present data confirm the finding of accelerated age at menopause at high altitude, the lack of comparable low altitude Tibetan populations, obviates attributing this to any particular factor associated with altitude or some other aspect of the biological or social environment or to a population characteristic.

The median age at menarche of 16.2 years in Upper Chumik is relatively late in the context of the worldwide range of variation from 12.3 to 18.4 (Eveleth and Tanner, 1978) and confirms earlier studies documenting slow growth and delayed development prior to maturity among Himalayan high altitude residents (Frisancho, 1978). The present data also confirm other studies reporting the independence of ages at menopause and menarche (Goodman et al, 1978; Flint, 1976; Treloar, 1974). The Upper Chumik biological reproductive span of 28.9 years is shorter than that in a longitudinal sample of Minnesota women whose span of 35.9 years is 24% longer due both to earlier menarche and later menopause (Treloar, 1974). A positive correlation between length of the

reproductive span and age at menopause is common to both studies, while the correlation between age at menarche and length of the reproductive span is found in the present sample.

Among experimental animals delayed achievement of adult body size and long growing periods are associated with later onset of degenerative processes of aging and long lifespans (Goodrick et al, 1978; Sacher, 1976; Yu et al, 1982). High altitude Himalayan populations provide a somewhat analogous natural experimental setting in which to consider whether the phenomenon of delayed development prior to maturity continues through adulthood in humans. (The commonality of slow growth and delayed maturity results from different sets of conditions experienced by the laboratory animal and human populations). The data presented here indicate that, in this Himalayan high altitude population, delayed achievement of mature function of the female reproductive system, measured by age at menopause. There appears to be no "compensation" for the delayed menarche and the result is a relatively short biological reproductive span. In this population, the factors delaying maturity of the female reproductive system appear to have no or a different influence on its subsequent biological changes.

Presently, there is little information on variation in and factors influencing age at menopause in any population, although there are compelling reasons to study this. One is that the length of the female reproductive lifespan is theoretically an important source of differential fertility, and thus of interest to students of natural selection. The event marking its termination is relatively unstudied compared with that marking its onset, although the present data suggest that age at menopause may be a greater determinant than age at menarche. In addition, age at menopause is an indicator of senescence of the reproductive system and may prove a useful marker in studies of biological development after maturity just as age at menarche often has been assessed as an indicator of biological development prior to maturity. These data from Upper Chumik add to our knowledge of the range of population variation in this poorly understood parameter of biological aging in women.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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A Study in Revenue Collection System in Nepal; 1846—1923

Jaya Karky*

Introduction

Agricultural land has always been considered as the most important national resource in Nepal by the people and the state alike. The major proportion of the state income has historically been collected in the form of land revenue. There was no uniformity in the land tax assessment system in Nepal. This was because of the physionomy of the country as well as the lack of improved transport and communication facilities within the country, which prevented the centre from closely supervising the work of the district level tax collectors. As a result, there existed a very complex tax assessment system in Nepal during the period in question. It is therefore useful here to present a general account of Nepal's geographic divisions. Then this study deals successively with the influence of geography on land, the communications problem created by geographic features of the country, land type and taxation systems, the amounts of tax fixed, the organisation of collection of revenues, taxes and other levies.

Geographical Features

Modern Nepal lies between 26° to 30° North Latitude and 80° to 88° East Longitude (Gurung 1973: 25). Nepal is a mountainous country. There are three principal mountain systems in Nepal. They are the Great Himalayan range, the Mahabharat range, and the Siwalik range. In the South, the Siwalik hills averaging 1500 metres in altitude rise suddenly and straight from the plains of the Terai. These foothills have a general elevation of 2500 feet to 5000 feet and more in the Eastern section (Gurung 1973: 26). Immediately North of the Siwalik hills rises the Mahabharat Lekh. The elevation of the mountains in this range varies from 5000 feet to over 9000 feet (Gurung 1973: 26). The Mahabharat Lekh runs close and parallel to the Siwalik hills from West to East across almost the entire country. They can be distinguished only by the superior height of the Mahabharat Lekh where these two ranges converge. The Mahabharat Lekh has been broken through only by narrow gorges and rivers: it provides an effective natural barrier to the interior parts of the country (Gurung 1973: 26). About 60 miles farther North of the Mahabharat Lekh rises the Great Himalayan range, which represents the third range system of Nepal (Gurung 1973: 26). The landscape is wild, and no vegetation is possible. This range includes all the biggest and highest mountains of Nepal.

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In Western Nepal another mountain range, lying 20 to 30 miles North of the Great Himalaya, defines the boundary between Nepal and Tibet. These Tibetan marginal mountains have an average elevation of 19,000 feet and the terrain is less rugged than that of the Great Himalaya (Stiller 1973: 4). Although mountains in this range are lower than the Great Himalaya mountains in altitude, they form the chief watershed between the rivers of the Ganga and Bramhaputra (Stiller 1973: 6).

Geography and Communication

These three mountain ranges are separated by lowlands. Although the ranges themselves are roughly parallel from East to West, numerous spurs run off from each peak toward the North and South dividing the central lowlands into many long narrow valleys. These irregular valleys are drained by a network of streams and rivers, which further divide the country (Stiller 1973: 6). In certain seasons of the year these streams and rivers become raging torrents and are almost impossible to cross. If the alternating highlands and lowlands have made the establishment of easy communications between the Northern and Southern parts of Nepal, difficult Nepal's river systems make East-West communication equally problematic. Nepal's three main river systems, the Kosi in the Eastern region, the Karnali in the Western region, and the Gandaki in the central region, each with seven major tributaries, further divide the country (Regmi 1978a: 1). In addition, each of these twenty-one major rivers is fed by numerous other tributary streams and rivers. Hence both the mountains and streams tend to isolate sections of the country from one another (Karan 1960: 17). As a result, communications have always been difficult in Nepal. This fact is enhanced during the monsoon season, when all paths become slippery due to heavy rain (Stiller 1973: 9). There are few passes even today in the Great Himalayan ranges, most of which are above 16,000 feet (Karan 1960: 16).

This is the geographic framework in which agriculture developed in Nepal. This difficult terrain also imposed serious constraints on the types of agricultural revenue collection systems that were adopted.

Land Type and Taxation System

Historically speaking, farm land in the Hill regions of Nepal has always been classified according to two basic agricultural characteristics: the land's ability to retain irrigation water and its productivity. Fairly level land, which held irrigation water relatively well, was called khet and was used to grow rice. Arable hillsides, from which water drained rapidly, were called pakho and were used for the cultivation of millet and maize. Because paddy was the more valuable crop, taxes on khet lands were heavier than taxes on pakho lands. Khet lands were originally assessed at 50% of the paddy crop, and the area of khet land was usually measured according to the amount of grain a field produced, i.e. 5 muris, 10 muris, or the like. The taxation of pakho lands falls under the general heading of homestead taxes and will be discussed below. The taxation of khet land is of considerably more importance, since this was the major source of government revenue.

As mentioned above, khet land was originally assessed at half the crop. This system, called adhiyan, was in use throughout the central hills of Nepal. In 1812, a contractual system of taxation was introduced into parts of the central hills. This system spread relatively rapidly throughout the whole hill region. Under this contract system, each tenant agreed to pay a fixed amount of his crop in tax. These kut or tenancy contracts were renegotiated from time to time in order to maximize the revenue yield. Tenants who refused to pay the increased rates were obliged to yield their right to farm the land in favour of tenants who were willing to accept the new rates. If no one came forward to accept such enhanced rates, the rate obviously had to be lowered. To simplify this assessment of khet land, efforts were made to further classify land by productivity. A four-category classification system came into general use.

Historical evidence shows that these four divisions of land were introduced during the time of King Pratap Singh Shah between the year 1775-1777 (Regmi 1978a: 57), though the use of these divisions came into prominence in 1812. The categories were Abal, Doyam, Sim, and Chahar. This classification, of course, is still effective (Regmi 1978a: 56-57). The defining characteristics of the categories are as follows:

- Abal: Land of the best quality with good and moist soil. The entire plot can be irrigated by means of irrigation channels or otherwise, and where water, used once, stays for three to four days. The yield is at least 3.5 muris per ropani either with two crops or one paddy crop.
- Doyal: Land, where only three-fourths of the plot can be irrigated by means of irrigation channels or otherwise and water, used once, stays on the land for two to three days. Though the level of the land may be somewhat high, the yield is not less than 2.5 muris per ropani either with two crops or one paddy crop. Soil is good and moist on such land.
- Sim: Land, where half of the plots can be irrigated by means of irrigation channels or otherwise and water, used once, stays for only one day. Even though the soil is fertile, yield is less than 2.5 muris, but more than 1.75 muris per ropani, either with two crops or one paddy crop.
- Chahar: Land, which cannot be irrigated and is dependent upon rainfall and water does not stay at all. The land is dry, stony or sandy and the crop is less than 1.75 muris per ropani, with only one crop in the year (Regmi 1978a: 58-59).

Thus, in the hills, land was classified on the basis of irrigation facilities and productivity. Both of these characteristics are, of course, related (Regmi 1978a: 58-59). But in the Terai region, the policy followed in classifying the land was different. In the Terai, classification of the land was based upon the location of the land, the

type of crop cultivated on the land, the irrigation facilities available, the level of the land and sometimes even the value of the land and its salability (Regmi 1978a: 59). Therefore, the method of classification appears to have been more complex in the Terai region. Land taxes on pakho land were assessed in a different manner. Pakho land was measured in terms of the number of ox teams required to plough it or in terms of the number of hoes required to spade it. Both were very rough estimates of the land area. The tax was actually assessed, however, not on the area of land but on the homestead (Regmi 1978a: 59).

In addition to the classification of land, the tax assessment system then followed in different districts of Nepal indicates that the policy of the government in determining the taxation level must have been based on two main considerations. First, the government appears to have taken into account the difficulties and hardships of the people in fixing the level of taxation. Second, the government appears to have tried to establish a policy through which rates of tax assessment could be fixed without imposing any loss on the government. As a result, a very complex assessment system developed in Nepal, because tax assessments necessarily differed with time, distance from the centre and the area, quality and basic productivity of the land.

In the hill districts and in Kathmandu Valley, tax assessments on pakho land, fixed usually in cash, was called serma (Regmi 1978b: 57-58). Talukdars were appointed by the government to collect taxes and submit them to the government according to the settlement. A number of other levies were also payable in the hill districts and in Kathmandu Valley for pakho lands in addition to the fixed amount. In the hill region of Nepal, saune-fagu was levied on each roof averaging one anna on each homestead and serma was fixed on the basis of the size of homestead and was assessed between eight annas to one rupee. Both the taxes were payable in cash (Regmi 1978a: 73-74). But in the case of other levies, e.g., ghiukhane, char-dam-theke and charsa rakam, payments were made either in cash or in kind (in the form of paddy or wheat). Both the levies, char-dam-theke and ghiukhane, were paid before the establishment of the centralized administration in Nepal. It appears that char-dam-theke was introduced by King Prithvi Narayan Shah after he conquered Kathmandu Valley in 1769. This tax was abolished in 1934 (Regmi 1978a: 75). However, the assessment fixed in 1934 for newly-cultivated lands of Kathmandu Valley and some of the lands of the hill districts did not abolish the ghiukhane levy.

In the Terai region, a single payment was made with very rare additional levies, among which charsa rakam was the one introduced for the compensation of the government in its loss of revenue (Regmi 1978a: 75). Tax assessments were made both in cash and in kind and determined on the basis of the land's quality (Regmi 1978a: 72).

Amount of Tax

It has already been mentioned above that there was no uniformity in tax assessments and that the rates of tax differed in different regions.

Terai region: The land tax was usually fixed and collected in cash in the Terai region. The rate of tax assessment differed however from region to region and even from place to place in the same region, depending on the type of crop cultivated. At first the tax on rice-land was roughly one-third of the produce. This was later increased and reached nearly 40 percent in early 1840s (Regmi 1978b: 54).

Baisi region: In the Baisi region, the rate of the rice-land tax appears to have averaged two to four pathis per muri (or 16 pathis per ropani), depending upon the productivity of the land (Regmi 1978b: 54).

Central Hill region: In the central hill region, the rice-land tax was fixed at half of the produce (Regmi 1978b: 54). Thus the actual produce of the land was divided equally between the peasant and the state either in the form of paddy or cash.

Later, after the introduction of the kut system, the rate of assessment increased.

During Jung Bahadur's time Mal offices were erected in different parts of the country as collection centres for land taxes and other revenues. This trend was further emphasized during Chandra Shumsher's rule; Mal offices were set up in the districts of Siraha, Bara, Rautahat, Hanuman Nagar, Jhapa, Biratnagar, Palhi, Majhkhand, Seuraj, Bardiya, Kanchanpur, Dang-Deukhuri, Khajahani, Sarlahi, Banke, Mahottari and Parsa as the main revenue offices of the government during the Rana period (Shree Panch Ko Sarkar 2007: 219-20). The officers of these different Mals were empowered not only to collect revenue but also to carry out other functions within the district e.g., maintenance of peace and justice.

Organisation of Revenue Collection

It has already been noted that the major portion of the state income was realised from land revenues. As the state expanded after the unification of Nepal, the government was obliged to increase land revenue from different parts of the country to meet the increased costs of administration. Historical evidence shows that the government faced three main problems at this time (Regmi 1978b: 53-54).

1. There were different kinds of land in different parts of the country. They differed in productive capacity, depending mainly on water resources and fertility.

2. There were different rates of land taxation, which differed from region to region and even from place to place in the same region.
3. There were different units of land measurement in different parts of the country.

From 1769 to 1816 there was growth in land size and area, but there was a corresponding growth in the administration and in the army also (Stiller 1976: 19). In 1816, the government of Nepal agreed to give up some of its Terai and Farwestern land to the British government according to the Treaty of Sugauli (Stiller 1976: 23). This reduction in the total area of land belonging to Nepal necessitated an increase in taxation rates; government revenues from this smaller area would not have been adequate to meet the demands on revenue. The increased taxation rates were in force until 1846. In that year the Kot Massacre took place, in which many leading nobles lost their lives. In the weeks after the Kot Massacre a number of nobles were exiled and even more fled from Nepal. Their lands were confiscated. As a result, larger tracts of Birta and Jagir land reverted to the government. Jung Bahadur Rana, who came to power after the Kot Massacre, took advantage of this reversion of land to the government to introduce a new revenue settlement (raibandi) and to lower taxes throughout the kingdom. Jung Bahadur also introduced the civil service system in Nepal to facilitate the collection of land revenue. Under this system, the power to collect revenue was assigned to government employees instead of the local authorities, contractors, or revenue farmers (Regmi 1978b: 72). Prior to this time revenue collection had been entrusted to non-governmental agencies, who were obliged to pay the estimated revenue in advance. This system, though it guaranteed the government the total estimated revenue, put an unhealthy burden on the farmers, from whom the collection agents felt free to squeeze the maximum tax in order to recoup the money they had paid to the government. In addition to this basic change, the new system changed three main aspects of revenue administration:

1. All local authorities were made responsible for the collection of revenue within the area assessed, a practice not strictly followed in the previous system.
2. Regulations were promulgated forbidding government tax collectors from acquiring lands or engaging in business in the tax collection areas for which they were responsible.
3. Revenue collectors were forbidden to put pressure on the tenants or to collect unauthorized taxes or levies from them.

Though the government introduced this system and tried to remedy other difficulties in the revenue collection system, it failed to improve revenue collection, and the system remained inadequate. Several factors that contributed to this failure are the following:

1. Since the government could not easily send its representatives to different parts of the country to supervise the tax collection process, tax collectors monopolized the system and the government was deprived of the real amount of the land revenue collected from the peasants.
2. There were different kinds of tax levies in addition to the land taxes which the government could not estimate in advance. Given lack of a sufficiently precise projection leakage in revenue administration was unavoidable, the government got less, and the villagers paid more.
3. There was no organised policy of revenue collection maintained by the government, Tax collectors felt free to manipulate the system of collection.

Thus we see that, since regular supervision from the centre in district level administration was difficult at that time due to the inadequate means of transport and communication, the government was forced to employ various non-official agencies, who actually controlled and collected the different taxes, levies, and rents imposed upon the land. It was the time and situation of the country that produced such non-official agencies in the country for the collection of taxes. Hence, there existed different systems for the collection of the land revenue and other taxes and levies at different times during the early nineteenth century. Among these, four were mostly practiced in different regions of Nepal and lasted until the fall of the Rana regime (Regmi 1978b: 73). They were the Amanat, Ijara, Thekbandi, and Thekthiti systems.

1. The Amanat System

The amanat system was used in the villages of the central hill region of Nepal along with two other systems, thekbandi and ijara, for the collection of homestead taxes. During the nineteenth century, this system was used again and again on an "experimental" basis. Under this system, a functionary, dware, was appointed either directly by the government or by the jagirdars in each village for the collection of taxes imposed upon each homestead (Regmi 1978b: 73). These dwares were made responsible not only for the collection of homestead taxes, but also for the maintenance of peace and justice in the village. The total amount of revenue collected from each homestead was either submitted to the government or to the jagirdar by them depending on their appointment specification (Regmi 1978b: 74-75). Then the accounts of such collection were submitted at the end of the each year.

2. The Ijara System

This system was used in the villages of the central hill region of Nepal either simultaneously with two other systems amanat and thekbandi, or to replace them. The ijara system was also used repeatedly on an "experimental" basis for the collection of homestead taxes. Under this

system, the authority to collect taxes, levies and revenues was given to an individual, ijaradar, who agreed to pay the amount on a periodic basis to the government with all risks of fluctuation in agricultural production (Regmi 1978b: 72).

3. The Thekthiti System

The thekthiti system was used in the Baisi region and in other districts of Nepal such as Rolpa and Salyan in the West and in Pallo-kirat in the Eastern hill region for the collection of taxes on rice-lands and homesteads (Regmi 1978b: 74). Under this system the tax contract was given not to an individual but to the whole village community (Regmi 1978b: 74). An individual, called a mukhiya, was empowered to represent the village community and divide the total amount of revenue assessed equally among all members of the community. As the settlement was made on a long term basis, all the village households were made responsible to bear a hand if the collection did not reach the figure contracted for. On the other hand, if the collection amounted to more than the figure fixed, individual households were entitled to share equally, thus protecting the government against loss of revenue (Regmi 1978b: 74).

4. The Thekbandi System

This system was used in the villages of the central hill region of Nepal. The revenue contract was given to the mukhiya for a specific period. The mukhiya was then obliged to make the collection and pay to the government, according to contract, the agreed payments. This system differed from the thekthiti system in that, in the thekthiti system, the mukhiya was responsible only as the head of the village, and full responsibility for revenue payments fell on the village community as a whole, whereas, in the thekbandi system, the mukhiya entered into the contract in his personal capacity and the responsibility for payments to government fell on him alone. Thekbandi was also similar to the panchasala-thek system used in the Terai region (after 1820) for the collection of land and other taxes. In the panchasala-thek system, the chaudharis were contracted to collect the taxes and pay the revenue to the government on the basis of a five year assessment (Regmi 1978b: 72). Panchasala-thek differed from thekbandi in that, under panchasala-thek, the arrangement was for five years, whereas in thekbandi the arrangement held until a new contract was negotiated either with a mukhiya or with an ijaradar or with the village community as a whole (Regmi 1978b: 72-73).

Apart from these four systems, during the Rana period, there existed other systems for the collection of local taxes, such as the mukhiyabhar and lokabhar systems and the jimidari system.

The mukhiyabhar system was very similar to the thekbandi system and the lokabhar system was similar to the thekthiti system. On the assumption that a contractor (ijaradar) held the revenue contract for a specific village, if the mukhiya agreed to pay a sum to government equal to

that offered by the ijaradar, the revenue contract was given to the mukhiya. Of course, if the ijaradar agreed to pay a higher sum, the mukhiya must agree to pay at least that much in order to retain the revenue contract (Regmi 1978b: 77). The contract went to the higher bidder, but if the bids were equal, preference was given to the mukhiya. In the lokabhar system the same sort of bidding was permitted except that it was the village community as a whole that bid against the ijaradar.

Under the jimidari system, followed in the Terai region, functionaries called jimidars were appointed to each mauja (a cluster of villages forming one revenue unit) to collect taxes and improve the condition of the land and actually settle the land (Regmi 1978b: 78). The old revenue system continued at the level of the praganna, but under the jimidari system, the mauja became the basic Terai revenue unit. To compensate for clearing and settling the land and making irrigation facilities available the jimidar was given a certain percentage of the land as birta as also the right to use the compulsory unpaid labour of the tenants on the land within his mauja.

Conclusion

The discussion in these pages has hinted at and discussed in brief the reasons for the failure of the Nepal government to establish a uniform revenue collection policy in Nepal both in the early post-unification period and in the Rana period. The nature of the political structure of the Himalayan states before the Gorkhali unification and the difficult terrain and poor communication within the country dictated that the new central government accept the tax collection systems already widely used in Nepal at the time of the unification. Efforts to simplify these systems were not successful because poor facilities for communication prevented the centre from closely supervising the work of tax collectors. Chandra Shumsher introduced a more strict accounting technique, but the actual collection machinery could hardly be policed under the difficult communication network prevailing in those days. This certainly led to unnecessary hardships for the farmers in pre-1951 Nepal and made any modern land reform programme difficult to implement.

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साहित्य, संगीत र कलाप्रति प्रतापमल्लको झुकाव

रुक्मिणी (वन्त) प्रधान *

विश्व इतिहास केलाई हेर्ने हो भने कैयौं साम्राज्य, राज्य उदाएको तथा क्लाइएको पाउँछौं । तर जुन साम्राज्य, राज्यले साहित्य, संगीत, कलाको विकाश गरेर गएका छन्; सांस्कृतिक उत्थान गरेर गएका छन्; तिनको संफना भने चिरस्थायी नै रहेको पाइन्छ । जुन राज्यले संस्कृति, साहित्य, संगीत, कलाको विकाश गर्न सकेनन्; तिनको संफना केही रहे तापनि त्यति उल्लेखनीय रहेको पाइदैन । साच्चै मन्ने हो भने विशिष्ट साहित्यकार, संगीतकार र कलाकारको महत्त्व त राष्ट्रिय सीमा नाघेर अन्तराष्ट्रिय बन्न पुगेको हुन्छ । त्यस कारण इतिहास राजनीतिले मन्दा संस्कृति, कला आदिले स्मरणीय बनेको हुन्छ मन्दा अत्युक्ति हुँदैन ।

साहित्य, संगीत, कलालाई अघि बढाउने नेपाली शासकहरूमा कान्तिपुरका राजा प्रतापमल्ल पनि उल्लेखनीय रहेका छन् । सानो कान्तिपुरका राजा भए पनि साहित्य, संगीत, कलाप्रति उनको जुन झुकाव रह्यो; त्यो निकै चाखलाग्दो रहेको छ । यस कारण प्रस्तुत लेखमा त्यस वारे प्रकाश पार्ने चेष्टा गरिएको छ ।

प्रतापमल्ल वारे चर्चा गर्नु मन्दा पहिले अरु नेपाली राजाहरूले यस दौत्रमा देखाएको अभिरुचि वारे केही लेख्नु प्रासङ्गिक देखिन्छ ।

प्राचीनकालदेखिको नेपालको इतिहास केलाई हे-याँ भने धेरैजसो शासकहरू साहित्य, संगीत र कलाका उपासक नै रहेको पाइन्छ । साथै प्रजाहरू पनि यी कलादेखि विमुक्त नभएर साहित्य, संगीत र कलामा अभिरुचि राख्ने रहेको देखापर्छ ।

नरेन्द्रदेव तत्कालीन चिनिया दूतमण्डली यहाँ आएको थियो । उक्त चिनिया वृत्तान्त अनुसार पनि नेपालीहरू प्राचीन समयदेखि नै साहित्य, संगीत, नृत्य रूचाउने थिए मन्ने थाहा हुन्छ । उनले नेपाली समाजको वर्णनको सिलसिलामा 'नाचगान गरी रमाइ वस्ने नेपाली जनताको प्रवृत्ति रहेको छ' मन्ने खालको भावना व्यक्त गरेका छन् । चिनिया वृत्तान्तको यस मनाइलाई लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखले पनि पुष्टि गरेको पाइन्छ । लिच्छविकालका शिवदेव र अंशुवर्माको लेलेको अभिलेखमा 'वादित्रगोष्ठी' को उल्लेख आएको छ^१ ।

* श्रीमती रुक्मिणी प्रधान, नेपाल र एसियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्रमा सहायक प्राध्यापक हुनुहुन्छ ।

यो बाजाको वन्दोवस्त गर्न बनाइएको गोष्ठी वा समूह थियो । जहाँ संगीत कलाको सम्बन्ध हुन्छ, त्यहाँ बाजा बजाउने दल हुनु अनिवार्य छ । यो कुरा आधुनिक विश्वको सदस्यमा पनि थाहा भएकै कुरा हो । यसरी प्राचीन समयमा मनोरञ्जनार्थ नाच गानको महत्त्व रहेको बुझिन्छ । शिवदेव द्वितीयको वलम्बू अभिलेखमा पशुपति मट्टारकको जात्रा गराउने उल्लेख परेको छ ।

लिच्छविकालका शासक राजाहरूको पनि ध्यान यस तर्फ रहेको थियो । गोपालराज वंशावली अनुसार लिच्छवि राजा हरिदत्तले उपत्यकाका चार नारायणको स्थापना गराएका थिए । कार्तिक शुक्ल एकादशी, द्वादशीतिर जुन चार नारायणको परिक्रमा गर्ने परम्परा अद्यावधि चलिरहेको छ ।

राजा मानदेवको समयमा साहित्यको विकास भएको थियो भन्ने ज्ञात हुन्छ । उनको समयको पहिलो अभिलेख चाँगुनारायणको शिलास्तम्भ हो । स्तम्भलेखको संस्कृत साहित्य उच्च कोटीको छ । यसबाट त्यसबेला साहित्यको उन्नति भएको थियो भन्न गाह्रो पर्दैन । त्यसका कविको परिचय पाइएको छैन, तापनि त्यसमा भएको रचना शैलीबाट कवित्व शक्ति भएका विद्वान्बाट त्यसको रचना गरिएको स्पष्टै थाहा हुन्छ^२ । मानदेवकी छोरी विजयवतीको सूर्यघाटको अभिलेखबाट पनि तात्कालिक समाजमा साहित्य, संगीत, नृत्य, गान आदि कलाको महत्त्व रहेको थाहा हुन्छ । उनलाई अभिलेखमा विभिन्न कला जस्तै नाच, गान, वाद्य विद्याको शिक्षा दिइएको भनिएको छ^३ । अशुवर्माले आफूलाई "शास्त्र अध्ययन गर्दा अपार आनन्द लाग्छ" भनी बोलेका छन् । फेरि उनको आफ्नो प्रशस्ति श्रीकलहाभि-मानी राजा" (लक्ष्मीसंग कलह गर्न गर्वमान्ने राजा)^४ तर्फ ध्यान दिने हो भने पनि उनको साहित्य, कला तर्फको अभिरुचि थाहा हुन्छ । जयदेव द्वितीयको पशुपति अभिलेखबाट पनि नेपाली कला साहित्यको बोध हुन्छ । अभिलेखको परिष्कृत संस्कृत भाषा र त्यहाँ वर्णन गरिएको चाँदीको कमल चढाएको आदिले उपर्युक्त कुराको पुष्टि गर्दछ । अभिलेखमा पशुपति-लाई चढाइएको कमललाई लक्ष्म्य गरी कविताको रचना गरिएको छ । जसमध्ये पाँच पद्य जयदेव-का आफ्नै रचना हो भनी अभिलेखले नै भन्दछ । अभिलेखमा उनलाई "असल कवि" भनिएको-बोद पनि जयदेवमा कवित्व-शक्ति थियो भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ^५ ।

यसरी लिच्छवि अभिलेखको अध्ययन मनन गर्दा लिच्छविकालका शासकहरूमा धेरैजसो साहित्य, संगीत, कलामा रुचि भएका थिए भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । मानदेवको विष्णु विक्रान्त मूर्ति, विष्णुगुप्तले बनाउन लगाएका बुढानीलकण्ठको मूर्ति, जयदेव द्वितीयले चढाएका चाँदीका अष्टदल कमल, मानदेवकी छोरी विजयवतीले हासिल गरेको विविध कला, नृत्य, संगीत, वाद्य आदि, अशुवर्माको विद्या पढ्ने शौक, जयदेवको कवित्व गुण आदि ज्वलन्त उदाहरणको रूपमा रहेको छ । इतिहासको अध्ययन गर्दा तात्कालिक नेपाली कला स्वदेशमा मात्र सीमित थिएन भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ । पछि गएर यसको माग विदेशमा समेत भएको थियो । नेपाली कलाकार अनिकोको तिब्बत, चीन भ्रमण यसको उदाहरण हो^६ ।

मध्यकालमा आएर साहित्य, संगीत, कलाले विकसित हुन पायो । राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखा-लय, केंसर पुस्तकालय आदिमा सुरक्षित प्राचीन हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थहरू केलाएर हेर्ने हो भने तिन-मा नाटक, काव्य, गीत संग्रह पनि निकै मात्रामा छन् । यी मध्ये धेरैजसो कृति, नाटकहरू राजकुमारहरूको विवाह-आदि विभिन्न अवसरमा रचिएका र लेखिएका देखापर्छन् । यसबाट प्रत्येक जसो राजकुमारहरूको विवाह, व्रतबन्ध आदिमा नयाँ नयाँ नाटक बनाई खेलाउने गरे-को कुरा थाहा हुन्छ । साथै धेरैजसो नाटकहरू संगीतमय नै हुन्थे । नाटक प्रायः जसो देव-देवीसँग सम्बद्ध हुने हुँदा त्यसमा मूर्तिकला आदिको पनि स्थान हुन्थ्यो । यसबाट एकातर्फ लेखकलाई प्रोत्साहन हुन्थ्यो भने नृत्य, गीत, वाद्य (तोर्यत्रिक) को परम्परालाई अटूट पार्न मद्दत मिल्दथ्यो^९ । जयस्थिति मल्लका जेठा छोरा धर्ममल्लको विवाहोत्सवमा भैरवानन्द नाटक लेखाई खेलाइएको थियो^८ । समय-समयमा नाटक आदि लेख्ने परम्पराले त्यसवेला विद्या-को स्तह केही बढेको बुझिन्छ । नाटक राजदरबारमा मात्र सीमित नराखी जनताहरूलाई समेत देखाउन एक महीनासम्म नचाइएको वर्णन गोपाल वंशावलीमा परेको छ^६ । केही पछि गएर विभिन्न अवसरमा नचाइने नाटकका नाच, गान, बाजा आदिको संयोजक राजा आफै मएको कुरा पनि प्रकाशमा आएको छ । यदामल्लका छोरा रणमल्लले आफ्ना छोरा माधव-मल्लको विवाहको अवसरमा 'पाण्डवविजय' नामक नाटक बनाउन लगाएका थिए । उक्त 'पाण्डवविजय' नाटकका लागि गीत, वाद्य र नाचको संयोजन खुद रणमल्लले गरेको कुरा त्यस नाटकको प्रस्तावनाको केही अंशबाट थाहा हुन्छ^{१०} ।

विवाह, व्रतबन्ध, राज्याभिषेक आदिमा उपर्युक्त प्रकार नाटक आदि बनाई खेलाउने प्रथा पछिसम्म रह्यो । मक्तपुरको राजगद्दीमा जितामित्रमल्ल बसे पछि, उनले आफ्ना माई उग्रमल्लको विवाह धुमधामसँग गराएका थिए । उक्त अवसरमा पाटनका राजा श्री-निवासमल्ल आई पाँच दिनसम्म बसेको वर्णन पाइन्छ । यसवेला देखाइएको नाच श्रीनिवास-मल्लले पनि हेरेका थिए र उनले पुरस्कार स्वरूप दश रूपैयाँ दिएको वर्णन गरिएको छ^{११} ।

यसरी हाम्रो यहाँ प्राचीनकालदेखि नै साहित्य, संगीत र कला प्रति राजा र प्रजाहरू-को अभिरूचि रहेको पाइन्छ । यस परिस्थितिमा हुर्केका राजा प्रतापमल्लको साहित्य, संगीत र कलाप्रति मुकाव हुनु साधारण कुरा हो भन्ने तर्क उठ्न सक्छ । तर गहिरिएर तुलनात्मक ढंगले विचार गर्ने हो भन्ने प्रतापमल्लको साहित्य, संगीत र कलाप्रतिको मुकाव बढी नै उल्लेखनीय रूपमा रहेको हामी पाउँछौं ।

प्रतापमल्ल कलिलै उमेरमा राजनीति चौत्रमा उत्रेका थिए । राजा शिवसिंहले ललितपुर, कान्तिपुर अन्तर्गत पारेपछि ललितपुरको प्रतिनिधि शासक बनाई जेठा छोरा हरिहरसिंहलाई पठाएका थिए । नाति लक्ष्मीनरसिंहलाई भने आफ्नो साथै कान्तिपुरमा राखेका थिए^{१२} । बाजे शिवसिंहको मृत्यु पछि कान्तिपुरको राजगद्दीमा लक्ष्मीनरसिंह बसे । उता पाटनको शासन माई सिद्धिनरसिंह मल्लले अड्याए । यसरी कैयौं वर्ष पछि शिवसिंहको प्रयासले संयुक्त

६८ सि.एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ६, नं. १ (डिसेम्बर १९८१)/नं. २ (जुन १९८२)

मएको काठमाडौं र पाटन राज्य लक्ष्मीनरसिंहको कमजोरीले एक पटक पुनः टुक्रियो । यो कुरा महत्वाकांक्षी युवक युवराज प्रतापमल्ललाई चित्त बुझेको थिएन । फलस्वरूप १३ वर्षको सानै उमेरमा आफ्ना केही सहयोगीका साथ ललितपुर उपर आक्रमण गर्न उनी पुगे^{१३} । त्यस वसत सिद्धिनरसिंहमल्ल कृष्ण मन्दिर बनाई कोटिहोम गर्न लागेका थिए ।

सं. ७५७ (वि.सं. १६६३) को स्वयम्भूको एक अभिलेखमा लक्ष्मीनरसिंह र प्रतापमल्लको संयुक्त शासनको वर्णन परेको छ^{१४} । यसको पाँच वर्ष पछि १८ वर्षको उमेरमा काजी मीम-मल्लको सहयोगले पिता लक्ष्मीनरसिंह मल्ललाई कैद गरी प्रतापमल्ल आफू स्वतः राजा हुन पुगेका थिए^{१५} ।

प्रतापमल्ल आफ्नो ३३ वर्षको शासनकालमा राजनैतिक दाउपेचमा निकै व्यस्त रहेका छन् । साथै साहित्य, संगीत र कलाप्रति पनि उनको फुकाव कम रहेको थिएन ।

प्रतापमल्लले पाएका शिक्षा -

तात्कालिक व्यासफू, टिपोट, वंशावली आदिमा प्रतापमल्लको जन्म मृत्यु आदि घटना र राजनैतिक, धार्मिक गतिविधि बारे निकै कुरा टिपिएका पाइन्छन् । तर उनको शिक्षा बारे भने कतै केही टिपिएको पाइँदैन । यसो हुँदा उनले शिक्षा कहिले, कसरी लिए, उनका गुरु को थिए आदि कुरा थाहा पाउन सकिएको छैन । पछि प्रतापमल्लको दरबारमा लम्बकण्ठा मट्ट आदि विद्वान् रहेको वर्णन पाइन्छ^{१६} । तर उनले कोसँग पढे भन्ने कुरा चाहिँ थाहा हुन सकेको छैन ।

आफ्नो उपनाम नै 'कवीन्द्र' (ठूला कवि) राख्न मन पराउने प्रतापमल्लले विद्या पढेका थिए भन्ने कुरामा भने कुनै सन्देह छैन । प्रतापमल्लले आफ्ना कति अभिलेखमा आफैले शास्त्रहरू हेरेको चर्चा ठाउँ ठाउँमा गरेका छन्^{१७} । यसबाट प्रतापमल्लले शास्त्रहरू पढेको प्रमाणित हुन्छ । तर कुन कुन शास्त्र अथवा के के पढेका थिए भन्ने कुरा चाहिँ त्यताबाट पनि सुल्झैन । प्रतापमल्लका एक दुई अभिलेखबाट उनले पढेका विषयको फलक हामी पाउन सक्छौं । उदाहरणार्थ स्वयम्भू अनन्तपुरको प्रतापमल्लको अभिलेखलाई देखाउन सकिन्छ^{१८} । त्यसमा प्रतापमल्लले आफूले पढेको विषयको केही चर्चा गरेका छन् । त्यस अभिलेखबाट प्रतापमल्लले संस्कृत व्याकरण, कोश अलंकार आदि पढ्नाको साथै संस्कृतमा गद्य पद्य लेख्ने अभ्यास गर्नुका साथै मीमांसान्याय, योगवेदान्त वैशेषिक आदि दर्शनशास्त्र पनि पढेका भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ, साथै बौद्ध दर्शन आदि पनि पढेको कुरा फल्किन्छ । विचारार्थ, अनन्तपुरको उक्त अभिलेखको अलिकति उद्धरण यहाँ दिइएको छ ।

.....अनवद्यग्यपद्यादिविविधव्याकरणचातुरीधुरीण, सततकृत मीमांसान्यायपातञ्जल वेदान्त वैशेषिक व्याकरणाकाव्यकोषालंकारादि सकलशास्त्रानुशरण, सुगतमतविनोदितान्त-
ष्करण.....

(दोषरहित गद्यपद्य आदि अनेक थरी काव्य रचना गर्नामा सिपालु, सधैं मीमांसान्याय योग वेदान्त वैशेषिक व्याकरण काव्य कोश अलङ्कार आदि सारा शास्त्रको रफत (अभ्यास) गरेका बौद्ध मतले मन वहलाएका)^{१९} ।

यसबाट प्रतापमल्लले पढेका विषयको अलिकता फलक पाइन्छ । प्रतापमल्लका अरू अभिलेखहरू केलाइ हे-याँ भने उनले अरू शास्त्रहरू माँ ज्योतिष, धर्मशास्त्र आदि पनि पढेका थिए भन्ने संकेत पाइन्छ । उनका स्तोत्रहरू केलाउँदा उनले पुराण, तन्त्रविद्या आदि पनि केही पढेका थिए भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ ।

मल्लकालमा लेखिएका हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थहरू केलाइ हे-याँ भने त्यसताका रामायण, महाभारत, पुराण, धर्मशास्त्र, ज्योतिष, काव्य, नाटक आदि विषयका ग्रन्थ नै पढ्ने चलन थियो भन्ने देखिन्छ^{२०} । यो कुरा राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालय, कैसर पुस्तकालय आदि स्थानमा रहेका मल्लकालका हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । यसो हुनाले यही परम्प-रामा प्रतापमल्लले पनि उपर्युक्त विषय पढेको कुरा ज्ञात हुन्छ ।

प्रतापमल्लको प्रशस्ति -

प्रतापमल्ल प्रतिभाशाली व्यक्ति थिए । साथै उनले त्यसवेला प्रचलित शास्त्रीय शिक्षा पनि हासिल गरेका थिए । यसो हुनाले अरू मल्ल राजाहरू भन्दा उनी अलि बेग्लै खालका बनेको देखिन्छ । विशेष गरी उनी साहित्य, संगीत, कला आदि प्रति फुके^{२१} । यस कुरा-को फलक प्रतापमल्लको प्रशस्तिबाट पनि राम्ररी पाइन्छ । स्थितिमल्ल पछि उनका सन्तान-हरूले विशेष गरी कान्तिपुरका मल्ल राजाहरूले लिने गरेको राजकीय प्रशस्ति निम्न प्रकार-को थियो -

* श्रीमत्पशुपतिचरणकमलधूलिधूसरितशिरोरूह श्रीमन्मानेश्वरीष्टदेवतावरलव्यप्रसाद देदी-
प्यमान मानोन्त श्रीरघुवंशावतार रविकुलतिलक नेपालेश्वर महाराजाधिराज राजराजेन्द्र
सकलराज चक्राधीश्वर ----- परममहाराजक देव*^{२२}

आधिकारिक कागजपत्रमा प्रतापमल्लले पनि उपर्युक्त प्रशस्ति नै लिएको पाइन्छ^{२३} । तर स्वतंत्र रूपमा आफ्ना अभिलेखमा प्रायः प्रतापमल्लले लिने गरेको प्रशस्ति निम्न प्रकारको छ -

* शस्त्रशास्त्र संगीतादिसकलविद्यापारग महाराजाधिराज विदग्धबूढामणि श्रीश्रीराज-
राजेन्द्र कवीन्द्र जयप्रतापमल्ल*

यसबाट प्रतापमल्लको आन्तरिक भावना बुझ्न सक्छौ । उनलाई *म शस्त्र, शास्त्र, संगीत आदि विद्यामा पारङ्गत छु, असल विद्वान् छु, कवीन्द्र (ठूला कवि) छु भन्ने धारणा थियो^{२४} । त्यस कुरालाई प्रशस्तिमा समेत विशेष जोड दिई लेख्न लगाएका हुनाले उनको आदर्श साहित्य, संगीत आदि प्रति फुकेको थियो भन्ने स्पष्ट भल्किन्छ । उक्त कुरा

७० सि एन ए एस जर्नल, भोल ६, नं. १ (डिसेम्बर १९८१)/नं. २ (जुन १९८२)

प्रशस्तिमा देखाउनाको लागि मात्र राख्न लगाएको नभई प्रतापमल्लमा उक्त प्रशस्ति सार्थक पनि थियो । उनको विभिन्न क्रिया कलापतिर दृष्टि दियो भने उक्त कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

‘कवीन्द्र’ उपनाम -

उच्च आदर्श भएका राजा वा उच्च आदर्श देखाउन चाहने राजाहरूले आफ्नो आदर्श भित्तो उपनाम लिएको उदाहरण धेरै पाइन्छ । भारतका प्रख्यात राजा अशोक ‘प्रियदर्शी’ नामले प्रसिद्ध भए^{२५} । द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त ‘विक्रमादित्य’ नामले प्रख्यात भएका थिए^{२६} । हर्षवर्धन ‘शीलादित्य’ कहलार । लिच्छविकालका नेपालका प्रख्यात राजा अंशुवर्मा ‘श्रीकलहामिमानी’ उपनामले चिनिन्छन् । अमिलेखहरूमा राजाको नाम अंशुवर्मा लेखिएको नभएर ‘श्रीकलहामिमानी राजा’ मात्र भनिएको पनि पाइन्छ^{२७} । लिच्छविकालका अर्का राजा जयदेव द्वितीयले ‘परचक्रकाम’ भन्ने उपनाम लिएका थिए ।

यसै गरी प्रतापमल्लले पनि आफ्नो उपनाम ‘कवीन्द्र’ लिएका थिए । प्रतापमल्लका प्रशस्तिमा ‘कवीन्द्र’ उपनामको प्रयोग विधिवत् भएको छ । साथै प्रतापमल्लका हर अमिलेखमा उनको नाम साथ ‘कवीन्द्र’ उपनाम पनि जोडिएको हुन्छ । प्रतापमल्लको राजा हुनु भन्दा पहिले देखिनै कविता प्रति चाख रहेको बुझिन्छ । उनी राजा भएपछि राख्न लगाएको पहिलो अमिलेखमा नै ‘कवीन्द्र’ भनिएको बाट उनको रुचि थाहा हुन्छ^{२८} । महेन्द्रमल्लले चलाएको नयाँ मुद्रा ‘महेन्द्रमल्ली’ कहलायो । त्यस पछि मल्ल राजाका टक तत् तत् राजा-का नाम जोडिई चलेको पाइन्छ । प्रतापमल्लका टकचाहिँ ‘कवीन्द्रमल्ली’ भनी चिनिन्छ । उनले बनाएको एक ‘पुर’ ‘कवीन्द्रपुर’ भनियो^{३०} ।

यसबाट प्रतापमल्लको आदर्श आफू ‘ठूलाकवि’ हु भन्ने देखाउने गरेको थियो भन्ने स्पष्ट हुन्छ । साथै प्रतापमल्लको साहित्य प्रति फुकाव बढी नै थियो भन्ने कुरा राम्ररी थाहा पाइन्छ । कान्तिपुर अन्तर्गतका प्रसिद्ध देवालयहरूमा उनका कविता अंकित अमिलेखहरू पाइएका हुनाले पनि उक्त कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

झोरा नातिहरूमा पनि कवित्व-परम्परा

कुनै मानिसले गरेको असल वा सराव कुराको असर झोरा नातिहरूसम्म पनि देखापर्छ भनिन्छ । प्रतापमल्लले साहित्य प्रति देखिएको अनुराग, ‘कवीन्द्र’ बनी कविता रचना गर्नामा लिएको गहिरो अभिरुचिको असर उनका झोरा नातिहरूमा पनि देखापरेको थियो । यस कुराको पनि चर्चा यहाँ गर्नु प्रासङ्गिक देखिन्छ ।

प्रतापमल्लका भूपेन्द्र, चक्रवर्तेन्द्र, महीपतेन्द्र, नृपेन्द्र, पार्थिवेन्द्र र पाँच झोरा बाहेक सुन्दरनारायण, सुरतसाही, मान्धातासिंह आदि ठ्याहा मठ्याहा गरी नौ जना झोराहरू देखिएका छन्^{३१} । यिनमा केही प्रतापमल्ल हुँदै मरे, केही बालक नै थिए । यिन-



मध्ये मठ्याहा छोरा मान्यातासिंह मने प्रतापमल्ल जीवित हुँदै कवि मएर निस्केको देसापरेको ह । मान्यातासिंहले ने.सं. ७६० (वि.सं. १७२७) मा 'गीत केशरी' नामक कविता रचेका थिए त्यसबाट प्रतापमल्ल 'कवीन्द्र' कहलाए जस्तै उनी 'कविकेशरी' मनी कहलाएको थाहा पाइन्छ^{३२} । उदाहरणार्थ त्यस काव्यको एक पद्य यहाँ उद्धृत गरिन्छ -----

*नेपालाधिपतेष्वप्रतापनृपतेः श्रीमत्कवीन्द्रस्य च

सूनोः शस्त्रसमूहशास्त्रविविधालंकारनम्रस्य च ।

मान्याता कविकेशरीति भुवनख्यातस्य काव्यं मुदा

श्रीकृष्णार्पितहृद्गतस्य सुधियां कण्ठेऽस्तु हाराय च ॥*

प्रतापमल्लका ठ्याहा छोराहरूमा ठूला मए पछि पार्थिवेन्द्रमल्लले पनि आफूलाई 'कविराजराज' मने पदवीले विमूषित गरेको पाइन्छ । काठमाडौं तलेजुको ने.सं. ८०२ को स्तम्भ लेखमा '... कविराजराज श्रीश्रीजयपार्थिवेन्द्रमल्ल देवविरचितं देव्यार्षचामराष्टकं संपूर्णं' मनी वर्णन गरिएको ह । यसबाट उनले स्तोत्र रचना गरेका थिए तथा 'कविराजराज' मने पदवी लिएका थिए मने थाहा हुन्छ^{३३} ।

पार्थिवेन्द्र पछि उनका छोरा भूपालेन्द्रमल्ल (प्रतापमल्लका नाति) गद्दीमा बसे । उनको एउटा टकमा 'कवीन्द्रचूडामणि सम्राट्' मने कुँदिएको पाइन्छ^{३४} । साथै काठमाडौं गद्दी बैठक अगाडिको मन्दिरमा रहेको ने.सं. ८०६ को अभिलेखमा भूपालेन्द्रमल्लले बनाएको स्तोत्रको उल्लेख परेको ह^{३५} । वीरपुस्तकालयमा रहेको नाटकको संकलनमा 'नलचरित' नामक एउटा नाटक ह, जुन भूपालेन्द्रमल्लले बनाएको मने ह^{३६} । त्यसबेला भूपालेन्द्रमल्ल दशवर्षका मात्र थिए^{३७} । दशवर्षका व्यक्तिले त्यस्तो रचना, कृति बनाउन सम्भव हैन कि मने शंका उठ्नु स्वामाविक हो । तर सम्भवतः प्रतापमल्लले कविता रचना गर्नेतिर अभिरुचि लिएका हुनाले उनका छोरा नातिहरूले पनि आफूलाई कवि मनी देखाउनमा गौरव सफेका थिए । प्रतापमल्लको साहित्य प्रति फुकावलाई प्रकारान्तरले यस परम्पराले पनि पुष्टि गर्दछ ।

प्रतापमल्लको कविताको एक फलक

प्रतापमल्ल ने.सं. ७६१ (वि.सं. १६६८) मा गद्दीमा बसेका हुन् । त्यसबेला उनी अठारवर्षका थिए^{३८} । गद्दीमा बसेको लगत्तै पछिका अभिलेखमा उनलाई 'कवि' मनी जोड दिइएको पाइन्छ । यसबाट कविता रचना प्रति प्रतापमल्ल शुद्ध लागिसकेका थिए मने फाल्किन्छ । तर शुद्धका अभिलेखमा उनका आफ्ना रचना परेको हैन । ने.सं. ७६६ (वि.सं. १७०५) मन्दा केही अधि प्रतापमल्लकी मनपरेकी महारानी रूपमतीदेवी र राजमतीको मृत्यु भयो । रूपमती कुचविहारका राजाकी छोरी थिइन्; राजमती मने कर्णाटदेशकी थिइन् । यी दुईको संफनामा ने.सं. ७६६ मा काठमाडौंको आठ कुने कृष्णामन्दिर प्रतापमल्लले बनाउन लाएका थिए^{३९} । यस पछि प्रतापमल्लका अभिलेखमा उनका कविता कुँदिएका छन् ।

७२ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ६, नं. १ (डिसेम्बर १९८१)/नं. २ (जुन १९८२)

ती कविताहरू प्रायः गरी स्तोत्र गीत रूपका छन्, केही वंशावली वर्णनरूपका छन् । साथै रूपमती आदि दिवंगत रानीहरूको मुक्त होस् भन्ने भाव पनि त्यस ताकाका अभिलेखमा परेका छन् । यसबाट आफ्ना मन परेका महारानी, रानीहरूको असामयिक मृत्युले प्रताप-मल्लको मनमा ठूलो चोट प-यो, त्यसै चोटले गर्दा विभिन्न देव देवीहरूको स्तोत्र, गीतको रचनातिर प्रतापमल्लको कवि हृदय ढल्केको देखिएको छ । विचारार्थ यहाँ प्रतापमल्लका त्यस ताकाका अभिलेखहरूका केही उद्धरण गरिएको छ । -

महाच श्रीरूपमति देवी दत्त ध्व रूपमति देवी श्रीश्रीप्रतापमल्लया पत्नि,
कर्णाट देशया श्री राजमती प्रेयसी ध्वपनि नेत्रमस परलोक जुयाव

श्रीश्रीप्रतापमल्लन ध्व देवल दयक विज्याडोव रुक्मिणी सत्यमामाया
स्वरूपन नेहमंग सारिक दयकाव जन्मजन्मान्तरस मुमालके कामनान
ध्व नामन वंश गोपाल मूर्ति स्थापना याडोविज्याडो जुरो ॥ सम्बत्
७६६..... ४० ।

श्री ३ वज्रयोगिनिस्त श्रीश्रीकवीन्द्र मल्लदेवन ध्व देवल दडोव गजु
ल श्यावाव धम श्लोक, म चिडोव साहासन चोयात स्तोत्र याडो
..... सम्बत् ७७५* ४१ ।

महाराजाधिराज भूपकेशरी श्रीश्रीकविन्द्र जयप्रतापमल्ल देवन
धम श्लोक चिडोव ध्व साहासन रोहोस चोस्काव धम स्तोत्र
याडो ॥..... सम्बत् ७७७ ४२ ।

यसबाट प्रतापमल्लले अभिलेखहरूमा 'स्तोत्र' 'गीत' कुंदाउनामा उपर्युक्त कारण रहेको थियो कि भन्ने लाग्दछ । यहाँ मनाई उपर्युक्त चोटले नै प्रतापमल्ल कविता रचनातिर ढल्के भन्ने होईन । कविता रचनामा उनको सौख त शुरू मै थियो । गद्दीमा बसेको लगत्तै पछि नै उनले आफूलाई 'कवीन्द्र' भन्न थालिसकेका थिए भन्ने कुरा माथि पनि भनिसकियो । तर काठमाडौँका प्रत्येक जसो प्रसिद्ध देव मन्दिरमा आफ्ना स्तोत्र, गीत कुंदाउनामा चाहि उपर्युक्त प्रेयसी विरह नै मुख्य कारण थियो कि भन्ने देखिन आएको छ ।

यस प्रसङ्गमा एउटा कुराको तुलना गर्नु चास लाग्दो देखिन्छ । लिच्छविकालका राजाहरूमा आफूलाई 'असल कवि' भनी गर्व गर्ने एक मात्र राजा जयदेव द्वितीय हुन् । पशुपतिको प्रसिद्ध अभिलेखमा 'जयदेव असल कवि' छन्, काव्य रचना गर्न स्वयं उनी नै समर्थ थिए, तर आफ्नो कुलवर्णन आफै गर्नु राम्रो नभएकोले स्वयं जयदेवले आफ्ना वंशवर्णन गरेनन्; पाँचवटा पथमात्र यहाँ उक्ले लेखी कुंदाए भन्ने भाव व्यक्त गरिएको छ^{४३} । ती

पाँच पद्य आफूले चढाएको कमलको वर्णन रूपका हुन्, ती पाँच पद्यहरू स्तोत्र रूपका हुन् मन्त्र रूपका हुन् । प्रतापमल्लले पनि आफ्नो वंशवर्णन गराई अभिलेख राख्न लाएका हुन् । तिनमा केही रचना खुद प्रतापमल्ल आफूले गरेका हुन् । पशुपतिको अभिलेखमा 'इति श्री महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीराजराजेन्द्र कवीन्द्र जयप्रतापमल्लदेव विरचिता निजवंशावली समाप्ता' भनिएको छ^{४४} । यसबाट लिच्छवि राजा जयदेव द्वितीयलाई जस्तो आफ्नो वंशवर्णन गर्न प्रतापमल्ललाई चाहिँ संकोच लागेको थिएन मन्त्र देखिन्छ । हुनत पशुपतिमा सबैले देख्ने ठाउँमा रहेको जयदेवको त्यो ठूलो अभिलेख प्रतापमल्लले पनि देखेको त हुन सक्छ । तर प्रतापमल्लले त्यो अभिलेख अवश्य पनि पढेका थिएनन् होला ।

प्रतापमल्लले रचेका गीतहरू पनि पाइएका छन्^{४५} । खोजी ग-याँ भने प्रतापमल्लका नाटक आदि कृति पनि पाउने आशा राख्न सकिन्छ । प्रतापमल्लका कविताको विश्लेषण अर्को लेखमा गरिनेछ । यहाँ प्रतापमल्लको साहित्यतिरको मुकाव देखाउन मात्र चर्चा गरिएको हो ।

प्रतापमल्लको जिज्ञासु प्रकृति

प्रतापमल्ल कवि मात्र थिएनन्, केही विद्वान् प्रकृतिका पनि थिए । विद्वान्को सब-मन्दा मुख्य लक्षण हुन्छ जिज्ञासा; अर्थात् नयाँ नयाँ कुरा जान्ने इच्छा । प्रतापमल्लमा पनि नयाँ नयाँ कुरा जान्ने उत्सुकता थियो । यस कुराको पुष्टि उनका अनेक क्रिया-कलापबाट हुन्छ । उदाहरणार्थ हनुमान्ढोका दरवारको भित्तामा तथा जगन्नाथ देवलमा १५ विभिन्न लिपिद्वारा कुँदाइएको अभिलेखलाई देखाउन सकिन्छ । ती अभिलेखहरूमा 'अरबी' 'फारसी' आदि लिपिका साथै 'रोमन' लिपि पनि कुँदाइएको छ^{४६} । नेपाली-हरूमा रोमन लिपिको पहिलो प्रयोग गर्ने प्रतापमल्ल हुन् भन्ने देखिन आएको छ । प्रतापमल्लको पालामा दुई जना ईसाई पादरीहरू तिब्बतबाट काठमाडौँ आएका थिए । तिनीहरूबाट प्रतापमल्लले रोमन लिपिको ज्ञान लिएको देखिन्छ । साथै प्रतापमल्लले पाश्चात्य संगीतको नमूना पनि त्यसबेला पाएको देखिन्छ^{४७} । प्रतापमल्लले त्यस अभिलेखमा विभिन्न लिपि मात्र कुँदाएका होइनन्, त्यसवेलाका पण्डितहरूलाई हाँक पनि उनले दिएका हुन् । विभिन्न कुराको ज्ञान हासिल गर्नु पर्छ, जिज्ञासा नभएको मानिसलाई पण्डित भन्न सुहाउँदैन भन्ने भाव उक्त अभिलेखमा प्रतापमल्लले व्यक्त गरेका छन् । अभिलेखकै वाक्य यस प्रकारको छ--

‘कवीन्द्र जय प्रतापमल्ल देवन जिमडोता जात आसलन दयकाओ
थम चोस्य तथा पंडित जनसेन श्लोक बोडोव अर्थ यायमाल,
गोम्हन थ्व बोडोव अर्थ यातम्ह घाय पंडित, थ्व बोडोव अर्थ
याय मफतसा व्यर्थन जन्म कारओ ओ माम वुवु जोक्व ज्याथ
जिथि जुयके यात ।।

७४ सि एन ए एस जनल, मोल ६, नं. १ (डिसेम्बर १९८१)/नं. २ (जुन १९८२)

यसबाट प्रतापमल्लको जिज्ञासु प्रकृतिको फलक पाइन्छ । कुनै कुरा गर्नु पर्दा प्रतापमल्ल आफैं शास्त्रहरू हेर्ने गर्दथे । प्रतापमल्ललाई 'भूगोल' बनाउन मन लाग्यो । अनि उनले अनेक शास्त्र हेरी 'भूगोल' रचना गरेर । प्रतापमल्लको 'भूगोल' अर्कै प्रकारको थियो, यो भिन्नै कुरा हो^{४६} । तर उनी जिज्ञासु थिए भन्ने चाहिँ यताबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । शान्तिपुर प्रवेशको कुराले पनि उनको जिज्ञासु प्रकृतिलाई अतृप्त्याउँछ^{४७} । इसाइपादरीहरूले उपहारस्वरूप दिएको दूरवीन प्रति प्रतापमल्लले देखाएको चाखले पनि उनको जिज्ञासालाई दर्शाउँछ ।

माथि उल्लिखित कुराले पनि प्रतापमल्लको जिज्ञासु प्रकृतिलाई देखाउँछ । यस्तै जिज्ञासु हुनाले नै साहित्य, संगीत, कलाप्रति उनको बढी फुकाव भएको देखिन्छ ।

प्रतापमल्लको सङ्गीतप्रति फुकाव

संगीत नेपाली जनजीवनको अभिन्न अंग नै रहेको थियो भन्न सकिन्छ । संगीत मनोरञ्जनको साथै धार्मिक र सामाजिक पदार्थ अंग बनेको थियो । ईश्वरको भजनको लागि संगीत अनिवार्य जस्तै थियो । यो कुरा वैदिककालदेखि नै चलि आइरहेको थियो भन्ने बुझिन्छ । 'सामगायन' एक किसिमले संगीतमय थियो । पछि विभिन्न धार्मिक सम्प्रदायले पनि संगीतलाई धर्म प्रचारको साधन बनाए । उदाहरणको लागि 'चर्चंगीत' लाई देखाउन सकिन्छ ।

संगीत मनोरञ्जनको पनि प्रमुख साधन रहेको थियो । लिच्छविकालका शासकहरूको संगीतप्रति कस्तो अभिरुचि थियो भने स्पष्ट रूपमा जान्न सकिएको छैन । तर राजकुमारी-लाई शिक्षा दिँदा संगीत आदि ललितकलाको शिक्षा दिइन्थ्यो भन्ने संकेत मानदेवकी छोरी विजयवतीको सूर्यघाटको अभिलेखबाट पाइएको छ^{४८} । यस कारण लिच्छविकालका शासकहरू पनि संगीतप्रति अभिरुचि राख्थे भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । अभिलेखहरूमा परेको 'वादित्रगोष्ठी' ले पनि यसको पुष्टि गर्दछ । तर संगीतप्रतिको अभिरुचिलाई गौरवको रूपमा प्रशस्ति आदिमा समेत जोड्ने काम लिच्छविकालका शासकहरूले गरेको पाइँदैन । मल्लकालमा आएर भने संगीत जान्नु शासकहरूको लागि गौरवको कुरा भएको देखिन्छ । विशेष गरेर योगनरेन्द्र आदि ललितपुरका राजाहरूको संगीतप्रति बढी फुकाव भएको देखिएको छ^{४९} ।

प्रतापमल्लको पनि संगीत प्रति निकै फुकाव रहेको थियो । उनी संगीतमा अभिरुचि राख्ने मात्र होइनन्, संगीत प्रति उनको दखल पनि थियो, उनले संगीतशास्त्रको अभ्यास पनि गरेका थिए । साथै संगीतशास्त्र जान्दछु भन्ने कुरामा प्रतापमल्ललाई गर्व समेत थियो । यसैले आफ्नो प्रशस्तिमा समेत 'संगीतादि सकल विद्यापारंग' भन्ने उल्लेख उनले गराएका छन् । गीतको रचना सुद प्रतापमल्ल नै पनि गर्दथे । साथै उनी स्वयं गायन पनि गर्दथे । हनुमान्-

ढोका दरबारको मूल सुनकोढोका माथि प्रतापमल्लको एक सालिक रहेको छ । त्यसमा प्रताप-मल्ल हातमा बाजा लिई गायनमा व्यस्त रहेको दर्शाइएको छ । मोहनचोकका मित्तिचित्रहरू मध्ये एकमा पश्चिमी ढंगको बाजा बजाउन तल्लीन प्रतापमल्लको चित्रण गरिएको छ । गायन मात्र गर्ने होइनन्, उनी कहिले कहीं नर्तकका रूपमा पनि रंगमंचमा उत्रन्थे । यस कुराको उल्लेख प्रतापमल्लको कवीन्द्रपुरको अभिलेखमा भएको छ^{५४} ।

यति कुराबाट संगीत प्रति प्रतापमल्लको फुकाव थियो भन्ने स्पष्ट थाहा पाइन्छ । यस विषयमा अरू पनि अनेक उदाहरण दिन सकिन्छ । तर संगीत प्रति प्रतापमल्लको फुकाव थियो भन्ने कुरा सिद्ध गर्न माथिका केही उदाहरण नै पर्याप्त छन् ।

प्रतापमल्लको कलाप्रति फुकाव

साहित्य र संगीत जस्तै प्रतापमल्ल कलाका पनि उपासक थिए । ललितकलाका मुख्य तीन अंग मानिएका छन्, - वास्तुकला, मूर्तिकला, चित्रकला । यी तीनै कलामा प्रतापमल्ल को ठूलो अभिरुचि थियो । ललितकला प्रति प्रतापमल्लको अभिरुचि जान्न यताउति दृष्टि दिनु पर्दैन, हनुमान्ढोका दरबार र यसका आसपासमा मात्र दृष्टि दिए पुग्छ । हनुमान्ढोका दरबारमा पनि 'मोहनचोक' लाई मात्र हेरे पनि प्रतापमल्लको कलाप्रियताको फलक राम्ररी पाइन्छ । मोहनचोक प्रतापमल्लले नै बनाउन लाएका हुन्^{५५} । यहाँ वास्तुकला, मूर्तिकला, चित्रकला तीनैको उदाहरण पाउन सकिन्छ ।

हनुमान्ढोका दरबार बाहेक पशुपति, गुह्येश्वरी, स्वयम्भू आदि ठाउँमा पनि प्रताप-मल्लका कृति रहेका छन् । रानीपोखरी पनि प्रतापमल्लको वास्तुकलाप्रियताको उदाहरण हो^{५६} । रानीपोखरी छेउमा एक ढुंगाको ठूलो हात्ती पनि रहेको छ । हात्ती माथि प्रताप-मल्ल र दुई छोराहरूको सालिक रहेको छ^{५७} । सो हात्ती र सालिक कलात्मक छ । प्रताप-मल्लको प्रस्तर मूर्तिकलाको यो सुन्दर नमूना मान्न सकिन्छ । ढुंगा बाहेक प्रतापमल्लका धातुका मूर्तिकला पनि पाइन्छन् । प्रतापमल्लले बनाउन लाएको धातुको विश्वरूप कलात्मक रहेको छ । यसै गरी प्रतापमल्लका पटचित्र पनि पाइएका छन्, मित्तिचित्रहरू पनि पाइएका छन् । प्रतापमल्लका कलाकृतिको विश्लेषण भिन्नै निबन्धमा गरिनेछ । माथिको केही चर्चा कलाप्रतिको प्रतापमल्लको फुकावलाई दर्शाउन मात्र गरिएको हो ।

कलाका पारखीहरूलाई कलात्मक वस्तु देखे पछि लोभ लाग्छ, तिनको संग्रह आफूकहाँ होस् भनी उनीहरू चाहन्छन् । प्रतापमल्ल पनि कलाका पारखी थिए । यस कारण कलात्मक वस्तु देखेपछि प्रतापमल्ललाई लोभ लाग्दथ्यो । यसै लोभले गर्दा प्रतापमल्लले कहिले काहीँ शिष्टाचारको समेत केही उल्लङ्घन गर्दथे । हनुमान्ढोका दरबारलाई कलात्मक वस्तुले सजाउन प्रतापमल्ल यताउताका कलात्मक वस्तु हनुमान्ढोका दरबारमा ल्याउने समेत गर्थे ।

७६ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ६, नं. १ (डिसेम्बर १९८१)/नं. २ (जुन १९८२)

हनुमान्ढोका भित्रका नारायण ज्ञानेश्वर मेकबाट ल्याइएको मन्ने छ^{५८} । दरबार भित्रको प्रसिद्ध कालियदमनको मूर्ति पनि अन्तबाट ल्याइएको मन्ने अनुमान गरिएको छ । एक पटक प्रतापमल्लले मकपुरमा हमला गर्दा त्यताबाट कलात्मक वस्तुहरू लुटेर ल्याएको वर्णन वंश-वलीकारले गरेका छन्^{५९} । ती वस्तुमध्ये हनुमान्ढोकाको, मूलद्वारमा रहेका दुईटा सिंह पनि हुन् भनिन्छ ।

नयाँ दरबार, पुर देवमन्दिर, धारा, पोखरी आदि अनेक वास्तुकला र अरू कला सम्बन्धी कृतिहरू प्रतापमल्लका थुप्रै पाइएका हुनाले कलाप्रति प्रतापमल्लको फुकाव थियो भन्ने कुरा राम्ररी नै प्रमाणित हुन्छ ।

उपसंहार

माथि उल्लिखित कुराबाट राजा प्रतापमल्लको साहित्य, संगीत र कला प्रति फुकाव राम्ररी थियो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । प्रायः गरी चलतापूर्वा ठूला अरू शासकहरूको पनि साहित्य, संगीत र कलामा अभिरुचि रहेको हामी पाउँछौं । तर कसैको फुकाव साहित्यमा बढी थियो भने संगीत र कलाप्रति त्यतिको नभएको देखिन्छ । कसैको कलाप्रति फुकाव छ भने साहित्य र संगीत प्रति पनि त्यति नै फुकाव भएको कम पाइन्छ । प्रतापमल्लको भने साहित्यमा पनि उत्तिकै फुकाव रहेथ्यो । साहित्य प्रतिको फुकावले गर्दा उनले आफ्नो उपनाम नै 'कवीन्द्र' मनी राखे । साथै संगीत प्रति पनि उनको उत्तिकै फुकाव थियो । संगीतको फुकावले गर्दा प्रशस्तिमा समेत संगीतादि सकलशास्त्रपारंग' मनी प्रतापमल्लले लेखाएका छन् । त्यस्तै कलाप्रतिको उनको अभिरुचि पनि त्यतिकै थियो । कलाकारको रूपमा रंगमंचमा पनि उनी उत्रेका थिए । कलाको फुकावले गर्दा कान्तिपुरलाई कलात्मक पानामा प्रतापमल्लको ठूलो हात रहेको छ भन्दा उत्पत्ति हुँदैन^{६०} ।

प्रतापमल्लका यस्तै विशेषताले गर्दा उनको कान्तिपुरका मल्ल राजाहरूमा मात्र होइन, तात्कालिक नेपालका अरू राजाहरूमा समेत पनि उल्लेखनीय स्थान रहेको पाइन्छ ।

टिप्पणी

१. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, (कीर्तिपुर: नेपाल र एसियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, २०३०), पृ. २८७ ।
२. योगीनरहरिनाथ (सम्प्रा), संस्कृत सन्देश, (वर्ष १, अंक ६), पृ. ४० ।
३. संशोधन मण्डल, अभिलेख संग्रह, पहिलो भाग (महानौद, २०१८), पृ. २३ ।
धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, पृ. ८७ ।
४. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, श्रीकलहामिमानी राजा, पूर्णिमा (वर्ष १, अंक १), पृ. ५ ।

५. योगीनरहरिनाथ, संस्कृत सन्देश (वर्ष १, अंक १), पृ. १७ ।
धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, लिच्छविकालिका अभिलेख, पृ. ५५६ ।
६. लुशियानो पेटेक, मेडिमल हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल, प्रथम संस्करण (रोम: १९५८), पृ. ६६-१०१ ।
७. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, *साहित्य, संगीत र कलाको अभिवृद्धिमा राजकीय विवाहोत्सवको प्रभाव,* गोरखापत्र (१६ फाल्गुन, २०२६), पृ. ६ ।
८. लुशियानो पेटेक, मेडिमल हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल, पृ. १४० ।
९. गोपालराज वंशावली, ६२ पत्र ।
१०. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, गोरखापत्र, पृ. १० ।
११. ऐतिहासिक घटनावली, (काठमाडौं: श्री ५ को सरकार, वीरपुस्तकालय, २०२०), पृ. ६ ।
१२. संशोधन मण्डल, इतिहास संशोधनको प्रमाण-प्रमेय, पहिलो भाग, प्रथम संस्करण (ललितपुर: जगदम्बा प्रकाशन, २०१६), पृ. ११५ ।
१३. रामजी तेवारी, आदि (सम्प्रा.), ऐतिहासिक पत्र संग्रह, दाश्रो भाग (काठमाडौं, नेपाल सांस्कृतिक परिषद, वि.सं. २०२१), पृ. २६-२७ ।
१४. रामजी तेवारी आदि, ऐतिहासिक पत्र संग्रह, पृ. २७ ।
१५. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, टेक बहादुर श्रेष्ठ, दोलखाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा (कीर्तिपुर: नेपाल र एसियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, २०३१), पृ. ४१ ।
१६. डि.आर. रेग्मी, मेडिमल नेपाल, दोश्रो भाग, पहिलो संस्करण (कलकत्ता: के.एल. मुखोपाध्याय, १९६६), पृ. ६६ ।
१७. गौतमवज्र वज्राचार्य, हनुमान्ढोका राजदरवार (कीर्तिपुर: नेपाल तथा एसियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, २०३३), पृ. २१३ ।
श्रीश्रीकवीन्द्र जयप्रतापमल्ल देव प्रभु ठाकुरसन थम शास्त्रस सोया पिकायाव ध्व पृथ्वी भूगोल चोस्य विज्याडोा जुरो ।
- शंकरमान राजवंशी (सम्प्रा.), पुरातत्व पत्र संग्रह (काठमाडौं: पुरातत्व र संस्कृति विभाग, २०१६), पृ. २ ।
श्रीश्रीजयप्रतापमल्ल देवेन आफुले शास्त्र हेरिकन, असंख्यास पुण्य देखिकन
१८. संशोधन मण्डल, अभिलेख संग्रह, तेस्रो भाग (महाबौद्ध, काठमाडौं, २०१८), पृ. १७ ।
१९. मोलानाथ पौडेल, धनवज्र वज्राचार्य (सम्प्रा.) गल्लीमा फ्याँकिस्को कसिंगर पहिलो संस्करण (ललितपुर: जगदम्बा प्रेस, वि.सं. २०१८), पृ. ६३ ।

७८ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ६, नं. १ (डिसेम्बर १९८१)/नं. २ (जुन १९८२)

२०. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, ज्ञानमणि नेपाल (सम्पा.) ऐतिहासिक पत्र संग्रह, पहिलो भाग (काठमाडौं: नेपाल सांस्कृतिक परिषद, २०१४), पृ. ८ ।
२१. गौतमवज्र वज्राचार्य, 'प्रतापमल्लको शान्तिपुर प्रवेश,' पूर्णिमा (पूर्णांक ४), पृ. ३१।
२२. डि.आर. रेग्मी, मेडिमल नेपाल, भाग चार, पहिलो संस्करण (पटना: लेखक, १९६६), पृ. ७२ ।
२३. मोहन प्र. खनाल, अभिलेख संकलन, (काठमाडौं: साफा प्रकाशन, २०२८), प. ३१ ।
हमानसिंह नेमजोडो, किरातकालीन विजयपुरको संक्षिप्त इतिहास, प्रथम संस्करण (दार्जिलिङ: नेपाल साहित्य परिषद, २०३१) पृ. ६३-६६ ।
२४. मगवानलाल इन्द्राजी, ट्वेण्टी थ्री इन्सक्रिप्शन्स फ्रम नेपाल, संख्या १६ (बम्बई: १८८५), पृ. २६ ।
२५. हेमराज शाक्य, नेपाल लिपि-प्रकाश, प्लेट नं. ७, पहिलो संस्करण (काठमाडौं: नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, २०३०) ।
२६. राजवली पाण्डे, हिस्टोरिकल एण्ड लिटररि इन्सक्रिप्शन्स, प्रथम संस्करण (बनारस: चौखम्बा संस्कृत सेरिज अफिस, १९६२), पृ. ६० ।
२७. रेनियर नौली, नेपलीज इन्सक्रिप्शन्स इन गुप्त क्यारेक्टरर्स, भाग १ (रीम: १९५६), संख्या ४६ ।
२८. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, पृ. ५५४ ।
२९. डि.आर. रेग्मी, मेडिमल नेपाल, भाग चार, पृ. ७५ ।
३०. गौतमवज्र वज्राचार्य, हनुमानढोका राजदरवार, पृ. ५१ ।
३१. संशोधन मण्डल, इतिहास संशोधनको प्रमाण-प्रमेय, पहिलो भाग, प्रथम संस्करण (ललितपुर: जगदम्बा प्रकाशन, २०१९), पृ. ५९-६० ।
३२. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, ज्ञानमणि नेपाल (सम्पा.), ऐतिहासिक पत्र संग्रह, पृ. २९-३० ।
३३. डि.आर. रेग्मी, मेडिमल नेपाल, भाग चार, पृ. १८६ ।
३४. सत्य मोहन जोशी, नेपाली राष्ट्रिय मुद्रा, (काठमाडौं: जगदम्बा प्रकाशन, २०१९), पृ. ८५ ।
३५. रामजी तेवारी, 'भूमालेन्द्र मल्ल', पूर्णिमा (पूर्णांक ३), पृ. ४६ ।
३६. सूर्य विक्रम ज्ञवाली, नेपालको मध्यकालीन इतिहास, प्रथम संस्करण (काठमाडौं: रायल नेपाल एकेडमी, २०१९) पृ. २४० ।
३७. रामजी तेवारी, पूर्णिमा (पूर्णांक ३), पृ. ३८ ।
३८. रामजी तेवारी, आदि (सम्पा.), ऐतिहासिक पत्र संग्रह, दोस्रो भाग (काठमाडौं: नेपाल सांस्कृतिक परिषद, २०२१), पृ. २६-२७ ।

३९. डि.आर. रेग्मी, मेडिमल नेपाल, भाग दुई, पृ. ६६ ।
४०. डि.आर. रेग्मी, मेडिमल नेपाल, भाग चार, पृ. ८८ ।
- * श्रीश्रीप्रतापमल्लले यो देवल बनाउन लगाइयो र रुक्मिणी, सत्यमामा स्वरूपको दुई जनाको सालिक बनाउन लाइयो, जन्मजन्मात्तरसम्म मोक्षा प्राप्त होस् भन्ने कामनाले आफ्नो नामले वंशगोपाल मूर्ति स्थापना गराइयो । सम्बत् ७६६..... ।
४१. संशोधन मण्डल, अमिलेख संग्रह, तेस्रो भाग, पृ. १३ ।
- * श्री ३ वज्रयोगिनीलक्ष्मी श्रीश्रीकवीन्द्रमल्लदेवले यो देवल बनाई गजुर चढाई आफूले श्लोक गीत बनाइयो । यस साहासले लेखि स्तोत्र बनाइयो..... सम्बत् ७७६ ।
४२. डि.आर. रेग्मी, मेडिमल नेपाल, भाग चार, पृ. ११० ।
- * महाराजाधिराज भूपकेशरी श्रीश्रीकवीन्द्रजयप्रतापमल्लदेवले आफूले श्लोक बनाइएको साहासले आफूले स्तोत्र लेखि दृगमा कुदाइयो.....सम्बत् ७७७ ।
४३. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, लिच्छविकालका अमिलेख, पृ. ५५६ ।
४४. भगवान्मल इन्द्राजी, द्वैन्ती श्री इन्सक्रिप्सन्स फ्रम नेपाल (बम्बे, १८८५), पृ. २६ ।
४५. जनकलाल वैद्यज्यूले नेवारी गीत सम्बन्धी अनुसन्धानको सिलसिलामा प्रतापमल्लका ३० वटा गीतहरू पाइएको कुरा भन्नु भएको छ जुन प्रकाशित भै सकेको छैन ।
४६. गौतम वज्राचार्य, हनुमान्ढोका राजदरवार, पृ. २११ ।
४८. गौतम वज्राचार्य, हनुमान्ढोका राजदरवार, पृ. १०२ ।
४९. गौतम वज्राचार्य, हनुमान्ढोका राजदरवार, पृ. १०५ ।
५०. गौतम वज्राचार्य, पूर्णिमा, पृ. ३१-३३ ।
५१. डि. आर. रेग्मी, मेडिमल नेपाल, भाग दुई, पृ. ७४ ।
५२. संशोधन मण्डल, अमिलेख संग्रह, पहिलो भाग, पृ. २३-२४ ।
५३. डि. आर. रेग्मी, मेडिमल नेपाल, भाग चार, पृ. २३३-३५ ।
५४. योगी नरहरिनाथ, संस्कृत सन्देश (वर्ष १, अंक ४), पृ. १-५ ।
५५. गौतम वज्राचार्य, हनुमान्ढोका राजदरवार, पृ. ६८-६९ ।
५६. योगी नरहरिनाथ, संस्कृत सन्देश ((वर्ष १, अंक १०-१२), पृ. ५५-५८ ।
५७. संशोधन मण्डल, अमिलेख संग्रह, तेस्रो भाग, पृ. २६ ।
५८. डेनियल राईट, हिष्ट्री अफ नेपाल, पृ. १२६ ।

८० सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ६, नं. १ (डिसेम्बर १९८१)/नं. २ (जुन १९८२)

५६. डि.आर. रेग्मी, मेडिमल नेपाल, भाग दुई, पृ. ७५ ।

६०. मास्टर प्लान फर द कन्जरभेशन अफ द कल्चरल हेरिटेज इन द काठमाण्डू म्याली
(फ्रान्स: युनेस्को: १९७७).

Book Review

A Brief Survey of Nepali Historiography, 1980. Krishna Kant Adhikari.
72 pages. Published by the author himself. Kathmandu. Rs. 50.00.

History of Nepal is probably one of the oldest disciplines to be written about in this country. This has not, however, made it an easy or a less controversial subject to pursue. Controversy in history arises not only because of proffered historical 'facts' and 'proofs', which usually are incomplete and imprecise in nature, but also because history has always been something more than mere facts, probably so in all times and lands. The 'truth' of history is the 'perceived truth' of the historian, and his facts are what he arranges according to his own concepts and categories within which he tries to understand them. History serves as a handy tool to project the ego not only of an individual historian but also the collective ego of the state by playing up national pride and chauvinism. The motives of the state, which are in every epoch changing, succeed in getting themselves instilled into the consciousness of its individual citizens, especially historians, through a complex diffusion process the state is constantly creating and recreating. Because of all this, history in most countries (especially in the developing ones) is in a state such as it finds itself today. Historiography becomes an interesting enquiry only when it is understood in the background of these circumstances in which it was written. Apart from other things, historiography is a field which should not overlook to bring out these things, because by understanding the circumstances alone that historical methods, errors and distortions become comprehensible.

Krishna Kant Adhikari's work on Nepali historiography seeks, for the first time, to highlight the importance of this subject for history-writing of Nepal, which, in his opinion, has miserably failed to come up to its own. In a much too brief survey (the total length of the book is 72 pages) of historical books and writings of the past one hundred and seventy years or so, divided up in four chapters, and in beaming his search, at some length, on the 'shortcomings' of past writings on Jung Bahadur Rana, the first Rana Prime Minister of Nepal, he has not been able to cover as many sides of the weaknesses of the history books on Nepal as there might possibly be. In the style that he has chosen to do it, this would never be easy to carry it out satisfactorily either. Although he seems to lay much emphasis in the methods of conducting historical research, his praise or dismissal of the historical works by others seems to rest again on his own evaluation of some of these historical events. The lack of space one understands, has compelled him to be brief, but his annotation of historical works can hardly be said to do justice to some of these books. In my opinion, a discussion of the historical circumstances surrounding the composition of these books would have been a far more exciting exploration. There is an occasional attempt to do this but it is not a sustained endeavour: in most cases

his critical appraisal becomes only a refutation of specific points. I will provide one instance here. Adhikari has strongly refuted the historical truth of the Bhrikuti episode. In a fuller appreciation of it, this problem would seem to me to be as follows. Bhrikuti grew out of a living legend of Tibet for more than a millennium. Apart from historical 'truth' as such, this episode is even more illustrative of the long history of the Tibet-Nepal cultural relations and of the perception of these relations by the Tibetans vis-a-vis this episode. The fact that the Bhrikuti episode failed to make any impression in Nepali historical traditions themselves (Nepali chronicles make no mention of Bhrikuti), until Levi pitchforked her in them, speaks equally about the relative lack of significance Nepal attached to the cultural relationship with Tibet at that time. The Bhrikuti episode has received more than its due prominence in the history books including school textbooks by Nepalis in the recent decades which is again illustrative of the change which has come over the perception in regard to this 'historical truth', this time from the Nepali end. I may add a counterpart legend to Bhrikuti's to complete my argument. This relates to the legend of the visit by Asoka, the Mauryan King, to Nepal. Indian traditions themselves are quite silent about this visit. But Newar traditions and the chronicles are more unanimous about preserving the memory of this visit. Despite it, our recent history books are not as enthusiastic to highlight this legend in the same way as Bhrikuti's. These are the changing circumstances which make or lead to the unworking of a 'historical truth'. Notwithstanding all this, Adhikari should be praised for initiating a useful and pioneering discussion in the area of historiography of Nepal.

- Prayag Raj Sharma

Classical Newari Literature A Sketch, 1982. Kamal P. Malla.
90+XII pages. Educational Enterprises Ltd. Kathmandu. Rs. 80.00
Hardbound, Rs. 50.00 softbound.

A book of this type has long been needed by scholars and amateurs interested in the Newars and their culture. In some 90-odd pages, Kamal Malla has given the reader an accurate and concise introduction to the wealth of material in classical Newari which lies in manuscript form in collections both public and private in Nepal and beyond. Prior to the publication of this book, anyone with an interest in classical Newari literature was essentially on his own, forced to gather information in bits and pieces from the introductory remarks to translations by western scholars such as Hans Jørgensen and Siegfried Lienhard, or from numerous articles written by Newar scholars in Newari language journals, or from extensive perusal of the manuscripts themselves.

The book opens with a short account of some of the prevailing attitudes towards Newari literature, ranging from official and unofficial hostility to the extravagant claims sometimes made by partisans of the language. In most cases these attitudes can hardly be seen as considered opinions, since partisans of both sides are often not fully conversant with the corpus of literature they deride or praise. This slim volume is a first step on the road towards a firmer understanding of what exactly is meant by the term 'classical Newari literature.'

In the first part, subtitled 'The Literate Culture', Malla presents an overview of the history of literature (predominantly Sanskrit) in the Nepal valley. A particularly interesting section presents a series of famous Nepalese Buddhist scholars of the early medieval period, drawn from a variety of sources, mostly Tibetan. Although the author may in fact have overstepped the limits of rigorous scholarship in labelling all these men as 'Newars' (a term that has never been very well defined and, as the author himself points out, was first used in the 17th century) there is no doubt that the Nepal valley did produce scholars of the first rank who produced original Sanskrit works. The Tibetan evidence for this is indisputable.

The author approaches Newari literature as 'vāṇmaya' (skt., 'consisting of words') rather than as 'belles lettres', the definition of literature that we have become accustomed to; thus all Newari texts, regardless of subject matter, are included in this overview. This is a wise decision, for a critical evaluation of classical Newari 'belles lettres', as the author points out, would be at this point decidedly premature. Classical Newari texts are here divided into several categories: technical prose, historical prose, narrative prose, poetry, drama and ritual texts, and each is discussed in turn. As examples,

lists of manuscript titles are given, each manuscript dated wherever applicable. These lists reveal some interesting facts about the development of the use of Newari in writing. We learn, for instance, that the earliest texts written in Newari were those which deal with technical matters: law, lexicography, medicine and astronomy/astrology. The first attempts at translating narrative prose seem to have been non-sectarian; in the early 16th century A.D., before any religious prose had been rendered into Newari, we find a copy of the Tantrākhyana, preceded (perhaps; the date is unclear) by a Newari translation of one part of the Hitopadeśa in the previous century. Oddly enough, considering the early Buddhist leanings of the Newars as a whole, it would seem that the translation or redaction of religious kathā into Newari was an innovation of the Hindu section of the population, perhaps motivated by techniques of proselytization through the vernacular picked up from the south. The first known Buddhist attempt at Newari narrative prose is a copy of the Vicitrakarnikāvadāna dated N.S. 771 (A.D. 1651) which postdates the first known Hindu example - a Swasthānī of N.S. 713 (A.D. 1583) - by some sixty years and is considerably earlier than almost all other Buddhist manuscripts in Newari. Although this dearth of early Newari versions of Buddhist texts might be due to persecution and destruction, a more probable explanation is that the Buddhists adopted the idea of translation from their Hindu neighbours. Seeing the effectiveness of recitation of pious stories in the vernacular rather than in Sanskrit, the Buddhists somewhat belatedly began their own translation programme.

One of the most striking characteristics of later medieval Newar culture is its material and visual richness, a richness not matched in the domain of the intellect. A comparison of Tibetan and Newar cultures, for instance, illustrates this point most graphically. Whereas the Tibetans have always acknowledged the Newar mastery of the arts, the intellectual and spiritual monuments of Tibetan culture find no parallel in later Newar Buddhist culture. This phenomenon is not linked to language, and I am not referring here to the Newar tradition only in their own language but in Sanskrit as well. Although it is no doubt true, as Malla convincingly demonstrates, that several Sanskrit texts which are included in the mainstream of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna literature were in fact written by natives of the Nepal valley, it is striking that later Nepalese Buddhists never adopted any of the formidable tools of scholasticism used by the Tibetans, such as printing and catalogues. The technology of printing must have been familiar to them from the Tibetans, but for whatever reason - faithfulness to the Indian literate model or the objections of a 'union of scribes' - they never once adopted the technique. Nor did they ever develop a 'general edition' of Sanskrit scripture equivalent to the Kangyur and Tangyur in Tibet. Certainly one reason for both these lapses is the gradual decline of monasticism among the Newars, for both efforts - codification and printing - demand the kind of organization and scholastic cooperation difficult to achieve outside of a monastic or university setting.

The Newars are an exuberant people deeply in touch with the valley they inhabit. Rivers, trees, hills and streams are sacred to them, and

their appreciation of the divine often takes an almost entirely tactile and sensual form. They are geniuses at amassing wealth and spending it in honour of the gods. The result of these traits in their character has been the subject of wonderment for visitors to the Nepal valley over centuries. But when we look for a tradition of Newari literature to match the sublime achievements of Newar artists and builders, we are disappointed. As Malla puts it, "It was as if the attainments in the visual and the plastic, the perfections in the visible were more important and more gratifying to them than the lacuna in their verbal world."

But if the concentration of the Newars has been directed more to the world of matter and form than to the wonders of the word, this does not mean that there "are no books in the Newari language worth teaching at the postgraduate level", the official opinion quoted by Malla as the reason for the long delay in introducing an M.A. programme in Newari at the national university. Although not as comprehensive or ancient as the neighbouring traditions to the north and south, the literature of the Newari is of deep and abiding interest both for its own sake and in any attempt to come to grips with the culture and history of the Nepal valley. This slim volume is a concise and valuable introduction to that literature.

The book contains an extensive bibliography, which is a valuable aid to any student embarking on an exploration of the previous work on Newari literature. There is unfortunately one major flaw in the listing of manuscripts: in no case is the source or place of deposit given. Although not an impediment to the general reader, this will undoubtedly be a source of acute frustration to the serious student who wishes to consult one of the manuscripts mentioned. It is interesting to know, for example, that the earliest known edition in Newari of the popular Swasthāni compendium of Saiva-Sakta tales is dated N.S. 713, but there might be one or two readers who would like to know where the manuscript is. After some trouble they will probably find out, but the trouble could have been avoided by listing a catalogue number or Manuscript Preservation Project running number/reel number along with each citation. Hopefully a future edition will supply this information, thus making this very informative guide considerably more useful.

It is encouraging to note that Educational Enterprises, a recent contender in the publishing scene in Kathmandu, will be offering more of this brilliant scholar's work in the future.

- Ian Alsop